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THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

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No responsible believer in Jesus Christ is happy about the presence of such social evils as racial hatred, a spiraling crime rate, the liquor and drug traffic, slums and violence. He realizes that such conditions as these have the potential to destroy his society and therefore ought to be checked. But the problem facing the Christian and the church is their role in curing the ills of society. What is the church's responsibility in the area of social problems? Should the church involve itself in these problems? If so, to what extent? These questions are not easily answered and debate goes on within the church. Hudson Armerding has stated the problem revealing the issue involved: "How may the secular world be confronted, without the probability of an accommodation that eventually will produce capitulation?"¹

Neo-evangelicalism has declared that the church must get involved in the problems of society or lose its voice and impact in that society. It states that Fundamentalists have overreacted against the social gospel of the old modernist, thus terribly neglecting the social area.²

Fundamentalism, on the other hand, warns Neo-evangelicalism that it is taking a dangerous step, which likely will lead to the watering down of the complete message of the Bible, and to the further secularization of the church. The Fundamentalist believes that the church is to catch fish out of the pond of sin, while the Neo-evangelical feels that something must be done to clean up the pond as well.

THE NEO-EVANGELICAL VIEW OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Dr. Harold Ockenga, the "father" of neo-evangelicalism, sounded the keynote of the movement pertaining to social problems.

The New Evangelicalism differs from Fundamentalism in its willingness to handle the social problems which

Fundamentalism has evaded. There need be no dichotomy between the personal gospel and the social gospel. The true Christian faith is a supernatural personal experience of salvation and a social philosophy

Fundamentalism abdicated leadership and responsibility in the societal realm and thus became impotent to change society or to solve social problems. The New Evangelicalism adheres to all the orthodox teachings of Fundamentalism but has evolved a social philosophy.³

This is an emphasis made by others as well.

Nevertheless--unlike fundamentalism--evangelicalism realizes the church has a prophetic mission to society We must . . . make evangelicalism more relevant to the political and sociological realities of our time . . . unless conservative Christian theologians take more time to point out the relevance of Christ and the Bible to important (social) issues conservatism will be neglected by the rising generation.⁴

These men, and others, feel that it is dangerous for the church to remain aloof, and that it must do something to right wrongs in the social structure. They believe that the gospel carries social implications with it, and that it is wrong to neglect them. Not only is it wrong, but it is also damaging to the potential witness of the church. If the church does not get involved, then society will become more and more secular, making it all the more difficult for the church to penetrate it.

The practical question before the neo-evangelical is how he is going to do this without falling into the social gospel trap. The voice of neo-evangelicalism is neither loud nor distinct on this point. However, most believe that the local church and the denominations can both be involved in implementing social concern.

With respect to social welfare, there is much which can and should be done by the local church as well as by the denomination of which it is a part, and even by interdenominational fellowships . . . homes for the aged, children's homes These might be termed church-sponsored welfare.

There are other agencies of social welfare which are not directly sponsored and controlled by church

organizations as such. While the church is less directly involved, there nonetheless is opportunity for participation and referral.⁵

What about church involvement in state programs? Neo-evangelicals differ on this point. Some are definitely against it, arguing that state programs fail to meet several criteria of Biblical social concern. Others state that since it is impossible for the church to take care of all society's needs, co-operation between church and state would be beneficial.⁶

What if these with whom you wish to co-operate do not share your beliefs?

I also believe that we should not be afraid of co-operating with others, even those who would not fully or would not at all share our presuppositions.⁷

Man's sufferings must be alleviated, his needs cared for. Here, also, a broadened conception of common grace reveals itself. God is able to work through organizations and institutions which are not expressly Christian. The Christian may and should co-operate with them, if they are the most efficient and appropriate means of carrying out the social responsibilities of his faith.⁸

The neo-evangelical believes that the gospel clearly implies involvement in the societal realm. This is necessary in order to make an impact on society for the gospel. Efficiency and impact dictate that social effort be done on the denominational and local church level, though this does not rule out the involvement of the individual in his community.

An Analysis of Supporting Scriptures

The neo-evangelical spokesmen constantly speak of the social implications of the gospel. They claim that their position on the social responsibility of the church is based on a solid Biblical base. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the primary scripture portions used by the neo-evangelicals in supporting their position.

There are certain portions that keep reappearing in the writings of neo-evangelicals: among them are Matthew 25:31-46, James 2:14-17 and I John 3:14-18. The teachings of these passages will be analyzed,

along with several others that have been used. All Scripture quotations will be taken from the King James Version of the Bible.

I John 3:14-18

We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. . . . But whosoever hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassions from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? (vss. 14, 17)

The neo-evangelical uses these verses to support his position on social responsibility, claiming that they imply the church's involvement in curing the societal ills of the day. After reference to this passage in John's epistle, Millard Erickson, an advocate of the neo-evangelical position, concludes:

Helping others, removing suffering, evil, and injustices, are appropriate results of true faith in Jesus Christ and commitment to His purpose. The Bible does teach the necessity of Christian social responsibility.⁹

Using this as his Biblical base, Dr. Erickson then launches into a discussion of the church's responsibility in social welfare and social action.

However, inspecting these verses more closely reveals that they are not teaching the church's responsibility to society at all, but rather the Christian's responsibility to other believers. Five times, in the English text, John speaks of "brethren." John questions a believer's profession of faith in Christ when that person can observe the needs (material or otherwise) of another believer and do nothing to alleviate those needs. The sphere of discussion here does not include the unsaved man nor society in general. The passage declares the practical outworking of faith as it is seen in the ministering to the needs of the brethren. Concerning this word "brethren" Westcott says:

This is the only place in the Epistle (of I John) where this title of address is used It contains an implicit argument. By emphasizing the new relation in which Christians stand one to another it implies that this position of necessary mutual affection is characteristic of them as distinguished from other men ('the world') 'Brethren' expresses the idea of Christian equality in virtue of the common life¹⁰

Not only is society in general excluded by the word "brethren" but also the word order of verse 14 makes the distinction clear. The pronoun is in the emphatic position--"as for us," in contradistinction to the world.¹¹ John, then, is making a careful distinction between the Christian and society in general. Christians are to help and aid one another in the practical as well as spiritual areas of life. But these verses neither teach nor imply the church's responsibility in curing the ills of society.

James 2:14-17

What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith and have not works? Can faith save him? If a brother or sister is naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding, ye give them not those things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it hath not works is dead, being alone.

These verses are used in the same manner as the ones previously cited in I John. After mentioning these verses, one neo-evangelical writer states:

If we are really open to the Gospel and its implications, we shall have to learn again to concentrate on the social issues of our day.¹²

All sincere believers certainly want to be open to the Word of God. But is James teaching the neo-evangelical position on the church's social responsibility?

Again, the verses must be given a closer inspection. James is discussing the place of good works in the life of a believer in Jesus Christ. He makes the point that a profession of faith does no good to others if no good works are done. However, James makes it quite clear as to what he means by use of a specific illustration. James talks about doing good to a brother or sister. James is not talking about society in general, but rather about the Christian community.

He (James) imagines Christians in dire need of the necessities of life being sent away by fellow Christians, not after being given those things which are needful to the body, but with a curt command to do something totally impossible. Such persons might be male or female, here called brother or sister, for all who are disciples of Jesus are bound by close family ties.¹³

James is, in unmistakable language, talking about the brotherhood of believers, and not about the world. This passage in James cannot legitimately be used to support the neo-evangelical position on the church's social responsibility. The only conceivable way this could apply to the world is if one subscribed to the concept held by the old modernists of "the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." The neo-evangelical, who diligently avoids association with the old social gospel, surely does not want this anti-biblical concept applied to his position.

Matthew 25:31-46

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. (vs. 40)

This passage taken from the Olivet Discourse is found in the writings of neo-evangelicalism, allegedly supporting their viewpoint. This portion views a time of judgment, when the Lord credits righteous individuals with ministering to him because of their ministry to others. These are set on his right hand and given eternal life, while those on his left hand receive judgment. Erickson sees some definite implications in this text of Scripture:

Let us note the ground of this judgment. The elect inherit the Kingdom because they have fed Him when He was hungry, given Him drink when He was thirsty, clothed Him when He was naked, and visited Him when He was sick or in prison. When they ask when they have done all of these things, he says, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matthew 25:40 KJV). The unrighteous are judged on the basis of not having done these things.

Two observations emerge: 1. Deeds of compassion and mercy done to anyone are equivalent to ministering to Jesus Himself. 2. Such practical activity is regarded as the criterion of worthiness for the Kingdom.¹⁴

It is evident that Dr. Erickson has lightly skimmed this passage, overlooking some important facts. First, this judgment is a specific, not a general judgment. It takes place after the Second Coming of Christ, after the Tribulation period, and involves only the living gentiles.

Kelly correctly details this:

Those gathered before Him as "all the nations"--a term never used about the dead or the risen, but only applied to men while still going on here below, and indeed applied only to a part of living men--the gentile portion, as distinct from the Jews. For we have already had the Jews in chapter xxiv., and now we see the Gentiles; . . . 15

It is, therefore, not proper to attempt to apply it to the church. Second, the neo-evangelical seems to have once again disregarded the important word "brethren." Jesus states that these righteous gentiles have ministered to him when they ministered to his brethren. It is worth noting that Erickson changed "brethren" to "anyone." Jesus speaks of those who sustain a unique, intimate relationship with Him, and not to society or the world in general. This is a very simple point, but of tremendous importance.

The Ministry of Jesus

The neo-evangelical uses the ministry of Jesus as the prime example of ministering to needs that aren't strictly "religious" in nature. After viewing the miracles of mercy done by the Lord, they conclude that social work is one of the responsibilities of the church. Billy Graham puts it this way.

Many people have criticized the so-called "social gospel," but Jesus taught that we are to take regeneration in one hand and a cup of cold water in the other. Christians, above all others, should be concerned with social problems and social injustices.¹⁶

The parable of the Good Samaritan and other passages are alluded to. For example, here are a few representative passages used:

Which is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk? (Mark 2:9)

Then saith he to the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it forth; and it was restored well like the other. (Matthew 12:13).

And Jesus went forth, and saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them, and he healed their sick. (Matthew 14:14)

The question is raised, "If Jesus was concerned about the social ills of his day, then shouldn't His church be concerned about the evils of its day?" This, of course, is a loaded question. To say "no" would cause a seeming separation from Christ Himself; to say "yes" would mean that perhaps the neo-evangelical position is right after all. It is necessary therefore to briefly analyze the Lord's ministry.

Several points need to be made regarding His ministry. First, a dispensational distinction must be made. The Lord ministered to the covenant people, Israel. His works were done in the dispensation of the Law, when God was working with His chosen people of Israel; and His works were a fulfillment of prophecy to these people. The point is that care must be exercised any time events of two different dispensations are compared. What was true in one dispensation might not be valid in another. Most everyone, even the non-dispensationalist, would recognize this. Jesus' ministry was not to the church, nor was it in the church context. Second, Jesus did not do good to just anyone in His ministry, but rather to the house of Israel. He was selective, though the neo-evangelical gives the impression He was rather indiscriminate in His doing good. Jesus did go about doing good--but to the house of Israel almost exclusively. This is an important point. The neo-evangelicals advocate getting involved in social efforts whenever they can do so, no matter whom they join with. Matthew 15:21-28 is enlightening at this juncture.

Then Jesus went from there, and departed into the borders of Tyre and Sidon. And, behold a woman of Canaan came out of the same borders, and cried unto him, saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou Son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a demon. But he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, saying, Send her away; for she crieth after us. But he answered and said, I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. (vss. 21-24)

After being rejected by the leadership of Israel, Jesus withdrew from the centers of Judaism into a geographical area that was gentile in its make up. A gentile woman approached Him, requesting that He heal her daughter. Jesus did not move to help her, though He could have. Jesus refused "to do good." Why? Because His good works were for the benefit of Israel, and she was a gentile. However, she was persistent, addressing Him in messianic terms. Finally, her great demonstration of faith and knowledge of the truth, brought an answer to her request and her daughter was healed. Jesus had a special group that he did good to: the people of God.

Third, Jesus did things on an individual level, while the neo-evangelical emphasis is on the institutional level. This point will be dealt with later. Fourth, although Jesus' miracles benefitted the individual, they were primarily for the purpose of authenticating His message to Israel. Fifth, the absence of a command to the church, from the Lord Jesus, to enter into the world and become involved in societal ethics is significant. When Jesus gave His followers commands, and when He discussed their relationship to the world (e.g. John 16), he never once mentioned, or hinted at, involvement in society's problems. This silence in itself ought to be a red flag of warning to the believer. On the other hand, He did spend some time warning His followers about the world, which is a Satanically dominated system. The church's ministry was a spiritual one, and the Lord did not imply the involvement in society's problems.

Therefore, it must be concluded that Jesus did not by example or by specific teaching imply that the organized church was to be involved in social problems. Individuals doing good is an entirely different matter and will be discussed later.

Weakness In The Neo-Evangelical Position

In their stated attempt to win a new respectability for orthodox Christianity, making it a vital force in reforming society, neo-evangelicalism has placed itself in a position that is vulnerable and difficult to defend from a Biblical point of view. As a result, there are some areas of weakness.

Their position is built on a weak Biblical base. Even from the survey in this article it can be seen that the neo-evangelical has made a poor analysis of the Scriptures. This is always the result when men are too anxious to find support for their ideas in the Scriptures, instead of allowing the Bible to speak. This weak foundation will not support the superstructure they wish to build.

Their position endangers the Bible's message. Neo-evangelicalism does emphasize the need of individual regeneration through faith in Christ. However, danger exists because of its strong emphasis on the social aspect and application of the gospel.

The danger lies rather in the possibility of deterioration to what the social gospel became. Obviously then, the danger in this direction does not lie in what neo-evangelicalism now believes but in that which its present emphasis may very well lead it to believe and proclaim.¹⁷

It is very dangerous to desire the approval of a Satanically controlled society, and to work hand in hand with that society even if it seems to benefit mankind. Neo-evangelicalism has positioned itself in this situation, and only time will tell if it is able to resist the pull away from the Scriptures.

Their position de-emphasizes certain doctrines. Certain Biblical truths are not being proclaimed with clarity and emphasis. One doctrine that is neglected is that of man's depravity. Although most neo-evangelicals would subscribe to this doctrine, it is a difficult doctrine to hold to in social work. To emphasize man's sinfulness would hurt a social emphasis. Also, the whole area of eschatology has been vague, with the premillennial position de-emphasized. The premillennial position declares clearly the wretched end of man and his society; this is hardly a stimulus for social involvement.¹⁸

Their position confuses the idea of individual responsibility. The neo-evangelical does discuss individual responsibility; but as far as doing significant things or making vital contributions to society, his emphasis is on the organized church. The stress in the New Testament is upon the individual's doing good. The church, as an institution, has not been given the responsibility of entering into the culture and curing its ills. Any curing of ills is a by-product of the gospel on the individual level. Failure to make this basic distinction has placed neo-evangelicalism in a scripturally dangerous position.

In summary: The motives of many neo-evangelicals are undoubtedly pure. Their sincerity in many cases cannot be questioned. But pure motives and sincerity have never been valid substitutes for scripturally correct positions. To leave the truth of God, even in reaction to the failures of others, is indefensible. Neo-evangelicalism does not have a proper view of the church's role in society. It will be our attempt to construct a proper position.

A BIBLICAL VIEW OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The believer in Jesus Christ finds himself in the unique position of holding dual citizenship. He is a citizen of heaven (Philippians 3:20) as well as a citizen of a country. This situation causes him to view his earthly society in a different way than the non-Christian who possesses but one set of citizenship papers. The Christian's attitudes and motivations are to be different in light of his heavenly citizenship.

The Bible speaks of both spheres of life, the heavenly and the earthly. What is to be the Christian's concern in the realm of the

earthly? Does he have obligations here and now to those around him? By studying the Scriptures it is possible to arrive at some basic answers, and principles.

An Analysis of Scripture

The epistles are letters written to the churches and individuals within the churches; and it is here that we ought to discover something about the subject of "doing good." Furthermore, the Book of Acts should be helpful since it records the activities of the church in the first decades of its existence.

The Book of Acts

When one reads the Book of Acts, he recognizes immediately that the early church was concerned for the physical well-being of its membership, as well as for their souls. Those attaching themselves to the church were sometimes cut off from Jewish society, resulting in real physical needs. The church immediately dealt with the issue. The following passages in Acts mention the response to physical need; Acts 2:44, 45; 4:32-37; 5:2-4; 6:1-4; 9:36-39; 11:28-30; 16:15; 20:28ff.; 21:4, 8, 16.

Several facts are gleaned from these passages, facts which can then be compared with the epistles. First, these believers performed good works almost exclusively for the benefit of the other believers -- the account of Dorcas in chapter 9 possibly being the only exception. Second, social work was done mainly because of individual initiative, and not by church organization and mobilization. Third, when the church as a whole did "good works," these good works were always directed towards believers.

The New Testament Epistles

The epistles do discuss Christian social responsibility a great deal. A striking similarity to Acts is seen--which should not come as any surprise. The epistles teach what is given by example in Acts: that social concern is primarily individual and not organizational, and that help is directed almost exclusively to believers, with society in general rarely mentioned. A careful reading of some forty-six references in their contexts will reveal that in almost every case Christians are to be the recipients of the good works.¹⁹

The very bulk of the passages given should reveal the emphasis that good works are to be directed to the brethren. As has been noted before in this article, two significant passages (James 2:14-17 and

I John 3:14-18) clearly teach the Christian's responsibility to those in the family of believers. This is the emphasis of the New Testament. There are several other passages that throw additional light on the subject.

2 Corinthians 8:1 - 9:15. This passage on Christian giving is one of the relatively few that discusses the good deeds of the church as a body. Here is recorded the noble ministry of the churches in Macedonia as they contributed funds to the saints (8:4). This is an instance of the organized church working in the "practical" area of the social problem. The church at Corinth, too, had labored in this regard (9:2). It is important to note that the organized church aided believers only. "For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you:" (2 Cor. 9:1). Churches carried on a ministry to the saints, not to society; and there is simply no implication here in the text that the unsaved society is included.

Galatians 6:10. "As we have, therefore, opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith."

This verse is one of the very few that includes the unsaved in the social efforts of Christians. By reading the verse in its context certain truths are found. First, it ought to be noted that this passage is dealing with the social efforts of individual Christians and not the organized church ("But let every man prove his own works," 6:4). Second, it must always be remembered in viewing such a verse that the motivation for doing social work on any level is to glorify God, and not simply to be relevant. Third, there is an emphasis in the verse that good is to be geared fundamentally towards the believer. If there is time and substance for the unbeliever, too, that is acceptable. It is more of a practical issue than a theological one here.

The point of view is here extended beyond their teachers, to the love of the human race generally; but since man in the limitations of his condition finds it necessary to restrict himself in the actual exercise of love, because his means do not suffice to help all, Paul points especially to them who are of the household of faith. Thus the expression involves no restriction on love itself, but only a limitation on its exercise on account of insufficient means.²⁰

Therefore, a believer himself is not to completely neglect mankind, but his emphasis is on the needs of believers, the household of faith.

I Timothy 5:3-16. The support of widows is the subject of this portion of the letter to Pastor Timothy of Ephesus. This portion is

included at this point because it reveals two significant things. First, the church was vitally concerned about the welfare of its own. The church recognized and undertook this responsibility. Second, the passage reveals how careful the church was in distributing its resources. The requirements for financial aid were rigid. The widows had to be more than just professing Christians in order to get relief. They had to be worthy, contributing members of the Christian community (e.g., vss. 4, 5, 10). Again, the practicality is obvious. The church then, as today, had limited resources. Its primary obligation was to distribute wisely to its own--worthy ones at that. The church could have done many good things with their resources, but they chose to do the best things.

I Timothy 6:17-19. Wealthy believers are encouraged in this passage to use their riches for good, and by doing good they will be making eternal investments. The context doesn't specifically mention believers as the recipients, though the entire epistle would suggest this. In light of Galatians 6:10, we might have here a broader use of wealth for the glory of God. The words of the Lord in Luke 16 might well be a commentary on these verses. In Luke the Lord gives the parable of the unjust steward, in which He discusses money and its use. After telling of the craftiness of the stewards Jesus applied the parable to life. He said that the children of light ought to use their money wisely. He suggested that believers "make friends" of the unbelievers, using their money, in order to gain eternal reward. Money can be used by individuals to influence others for Christ. Using one's wealth by investing it in the souls of men will pay off in eternal dividends later.

Some important principles: cultures and societies change but the Scriptures are valid in every situation. After viewing the main portions of Scripture, this writer arrives at these basic principles on which the church should operate in the area of social problem. (1) Christian social work is primarily an individual responsibility. (2) Christian social work is to be directed towards alleviating the needs of fellow Christians. (3) The organizational church is to work only for the betterment of born-again persons. (4) There is no indication anywhere in the New Testament that the church can align itself formally or informally with society in order to bring about social change. (5) Individual Christians are first to help believers, but are also directed to use some of their remaining resources as occasion permits to help the unbeliever for the glory of God.

To some these principles may seem selfish. But it must be remembered that the church and individuals have only limited resources and these are to be used to the best advantage: helping believers. There is also a great truth underlying these principles, and the Scriptures from which they are derived. If the Christian community would actively minister to the individual needs of its members, then the unsaved would

identify these as true followers of Christ and be attracted to them. This is the idea behind the words of the Lord in John 13:34,35.

A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you have love one to another.

In the passage, Jesus by His own actions (vss. 4-7) and by His teachings (vss. 12-17) reveals that genuine love and concern for fellow believers is demonstrated by meeting their needs. This active concern for each other would be the identifying mark to the unbeliever. A happy, ministering group of believers, using their resources to help one another will attract men, and will be a great aid in evangelization. And if believers would indeed become active in social work within the family, the impact would be felt in secular society today in the same way as the first century. Trying to win a favorable smile from the pagan society by social action within that society is doing the job backwards and will fail.

The neo-evangelical advocates an involvement in societal ethics that he finds difficult to support from the Scriptures. He wants the church as an institution to become active in social affairs. He is shifting from a ministry to the saved to work for the unsaved. He seems to want to use the church's resources on that which may be good, but is not the best.

The Bible does command and encourage Christians to become involved in the lives of others. Believers are to aid believers; and it is here that our responsibility starts and for the most part remains. To attempt another approach is folly, no matter how noble are the motives and the objectives. Let us follow the principles of the Scriptures, and let us do good.

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THE LENGTH OF ISRAEL'S SOJOURN IN EGYPT

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The chronological framework of Biblical events from the time of Abraham to David rests upon two pivotal texts of Scripture. The first is I Kings 6:1, which dates the Exodus from Egypt 480 years before the fourth year of Solomon.

The second pivotal date for the Biblical chronology of this period is Exodus 12:40 which dates the arrival of Jacob's family in Egypt years before the Exodus.

The purpose of this paper will be to discuss the problem of the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt. This problem is important, as already suggested, because it has to do with dating events in the centuries prior to the Exodus.

There are at least three possible solutions to the problem of the length of Israel's Egyptian sojourn. The first view is that the time span of the sojourn was only 215 years. A second solution is the view of 400 years for the sojourn. The third, and final, solution to be discussed is the idea that 430 years elapsed between the entrance of Jacob and his family into Egypt and their Exodus under Moses' leadership.

The View That The Egyptian Sojourn Was 215 Years

The most commonly held view of the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt is the 215 year idea. To state the view simply, the chronological notations of Genesis 15:13,

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And he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years,

and Exodus 12:40,

Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years,

include sojourns in both Canaan and Egypt. From this it is argued that approximately 215 years were spent in Canaan and 215 years in Egypt.

Among the proponents of this view are Anstey,¹ Meyer,² Eadie,³ Alford⁴ and McDonald.⁵

Anstey is possibly its leading adherent. He reckons the 430 years of Exodus 12:40 from Abraham's call to the Exodus, and considers the 400 years of Genesis 15:13 as embracing the same period, but beginning with the weaning of Isaac.⁶ According to Anstey the Genesis passage has to do with the sojourning of Abraham's seed. As he has explained:

Abraham's seed here means Abraham's posterity, viz., Isaac from the time that he was weaned and became Abraham's heir (Gal. 3:29-4:5) and Isaac's descendants.⁷

Holding to the idea that an oriental child was weaned at age five, the conclusion is that the 400 years of Genesis 15 began when Isaac was five years old.⁸

Adding these five years plus the twenty-five years that elapsed between Abraham's call and Isaac's birth to the 400 years of Exodus 12:40 makes the harmonious chronological scheme.⁹

Another argument is his interpretation of the phrase "a land that is not theirs" in Genesis 15:13. Since Canaan was actually never possessed by Abraham's seed before the conquest under Joshua, then the 400 years must include both that land and Egypt.¹⁰ The interpretation also of McDonald is significant here as he sees the phrase as being more appropriately applied to Canaan. He has written:

While no particular country is specified, the appellation "a land that is not theirs" was, as regards Abraham and his immediate posterity, more applicable to Canaan than it was to Egypt during the sojourn there. Up to

the time when it was taken possession of by Joshua, Canaan, though the "land of promise", was in every sense a strange (allotria Heb. xi. 9, comp. ac. ii. c), land, Abraham or his posterity having no possession in it beyond a place of sepulture, and no fixed dwelling place, whereas in Egypt they had the land of Goshen by royal grant.¹¹

In connection with this Anstey does not see the servitude and affliction mentioned in the verse as applying to the Canaan sojourn. He skirts the necessity of applying these to the entire four hundred years by the use of an introversion. In other words he breaks down the passage so that it is constructed in the following manner:

Know of a surety that

- A. thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs,
- B. and shall serve them;
- B. and they shall afflict them;
- A. four hundred years.¹²

In this construction the two A clauses correspond to each other and relate to the same event, that is, the whole period of the sojourning. The two B clauses likewise correspond and are parenthetical and relate to the servitude in Egypt and that alone.

A third argument used to establish the extent of the sojourn is the variant readings to the Massoretic text of Exodus 12:40. The Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch both include Canaan in the 430 year sojourn. The Septuagint version is as follows:

The sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in Egypt and in the land of Canaan, was four hundred and thirty years.

The Samaritan Pentateuch reads:

And the sojourn of the children of Israel and of their fathers in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt.

The clause "and in the land of Canaan" of the Septuagint, and the clause "and of their fathers in the land of Canaan" of the Samaritan Pentateuch are not supported by any other manuscript evidence.

Anstey finds support in these variants while not contradicting the Massoretic text. He believes that the Septuagint and Samaritan insertions

. . . agree perfectly with the Hebrew which is further elucidated, but in no way modified by them. They correctly interpret the meaning of the Hebrew text. . . . But the meaning of the Hebrew is sufficiently clear without the explanatory addition when the text is properly translated.¹³

To summarize at this point, the major premise for the 215 year view is the interpretation of Genesis 15:13 and Exodus 12:40 as referring harmoniously to both the Canaan and Egyptian sojourns. The support for this is the view that the seed of Abraham, beginning with Isaac, was to dwell in a land not their own, which included Canaan. At the same time the variant readings of Exodus 12:40 interpret that passage as bringing the two sojourns into one.

The final support for reckoning the 430 years from Abraham to Sinai is the implication of Galatians 3:17. This verse, speaking of the covenant of the law which came many years after the Abrahamic promise, reads as follows:

Now this I say: A covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law, which came four hundred and thirty years after doth not disannul, so as to make the promise of none effect.

The implication of this verse is important to the view under consideration. Fergusson sees this verse as indicating the space of 430 years to be reckoned

. . . from the first solemn sanction and confirmation of the covenant by God to Abraham . . . and the close of it was at the giving of the law upon Mount Sinai . . .¹⁴

This supposed interpretation by Paul of the 430 years is also considered by Meyer to be an evidence that Paul used the Septuagint at this point,¹⁵ which in turn gives support to that version's interpretation of Exodus 12:40.

It is from the standpoint of the major premise of 430 years for the Canaan and Egyptian sojourns that the time span of the latter sojourn is calculated. The time from Abraham's call to Jacob's entrance into Egypt can be determined by particular references in Genesis. According to Genesis 21:5 Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old or twenty-five years after Abraham entered Canaan (Gen. 12:4). Jacob was born when Isaac was 60 years old (Gen. 25:26) and entered Egypt at age 130 (Gen. 47:9). The total of the figures of 25, 60 and 130 would be

215, the time span of the Canaan sojourn. Subtracting this figure from 430 would leave a similar amount of time for Israel's stay in Egypt.

In order to demonstrate the validity of 215 years in Egypt, several arguments are put forth, the principal one being the genealogy of Jochebed. According to Exodus 6:16-20 and Numbers 26:59, Jochebed was the daughter of Levi, who went into Egypt, and the mother of Moses who led the children of Israel out. If the sojourn in Egypt was 430 years, she would have to be over 250 years old when Moses was born. This conclusion is reached by deducting the number of years Levi lived in Egypt, approximately 94, and the age of Moses at the Exodus, 80, from the 430 years. Ellicott summarizes the problem as follows:

Amram, grandson of Levi, marries his father's sister Jochebed (Exod. 6:20; comp. Exod. 2:1; Numb. 26:59). Now as it appears probable by a comparison of dates that Levi was born when Jacob was about 87, Levi would have been 43 when he came into Egypt; there he lives 94 years (Exod. 6:16). Assuming then even that Jochebed was born in the last year of Levi's life, she must at least have been 256 years old when Moses was born, if the sojourn in Egypt be 430 years¹⁶

Consequently, the 215 year view of the Egyptian sojourn is considered more reasonable as it does not demand such an inconceivable age for Jochebed. McDonald, making his deductions from the 215 year hypothesis, suggests an approximate age of 45 for Jochebed at Moses' birth.¹⁷

Anstey's Joseph to Moses connection is his further demonstration of a short Egyptian sojourn. He subtracts the time span from the call of Abraham to the death of Joseph, 286 years, and the age of Moses at the Exodus, 80, from his 430 year figure of both sojourns and arrives at a 64 year interval between Joseph and Moses.¹⁸ This time period would allow for the events that took place between the two men (Exodus 1:1-22).

The proponents of this view see no difficulty in harmonizing the population increase of Israel in such a short period of 215 years. Anstey first of all, sees confirmation of the 600,000 male population in the later notices in Numbers 2:32 and 26:51.¹⁹ He then argues that such an increase is not beyond comprehension:

Mr. Malthus has shown that with an abundant supply of food, a given population may continue to double its numbers in about 15 years, and in favored cases, in

even less time. At this rate of increase the 70 souls who went down into Egypt would have multiplied in 225 years to 2,293,760, which is perhaps about the number of the entire population including Levites, women and children; the 600,000 mentioned in Exodus 12:37, Numb. 2:32 and 26:51, would be the adult males.²⁰

Others, such as Moller, have attributed the phenomenal growth simply to Divine blessing.²¹

To summarize, the view of a 215 year sojourn in Egypt is first of all based upon the idea that the period from the call of Abraham to the Exodus was 430 years. This idea is derived from the interpretation and harmonization of Genesis 15:13 and Exodus 12:40. Genesis 15:13 is interpreted in reckoning the sojourn of Abraham's seed in a land not their own from the weaning of Isaac. This interpretation is further supported by adopting the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch readings of Exodus 12:40, which include both Canaan and Egypt in the 430 year span.

Within this framework of time, the time of the sojourning in Canaan, determined by references in Genesis, is deducted from the 430 year period leaving 215 years for Israel's stay in Egypt. This is then demonstrated by the genealogy of Jochebed and the short span of years between Joseph and Moses. At the same time, the increase in the Hebrew population in Egypt does not invalidate such a short period of time.

There are, however, several objections to this interpretation. To begin, while the Genesis 15:13 passage does clearly indicate that the 400 year sojourning is to be the experience of Abraham's seed, yet the verse does not specify the reckoning of this period to begin with Isaac.

A second objection is to the interpretation of the phrase "a land not their own" in the same passage. While it is true that the Israelites did not take possession of the land of Canaan until Joshua's day, yet the land was still theirs. The very context of the passage is concerned with deeding the land to Abraham and his posterity. The land not their own was in direct contrast to the land of Canaan. Beet has very aptly remarked:

It is also difficult to suppose that in Gen. XV. 13 the 'land not theirs,' in which Israel was to dwell 400 years and which seems to be contrasted with the land promised to Abraham, includes both Egypt and Canaan, countries so different in their relation to Israel.²²

Thirdly the passage refers to servitude and affliction during the period of the 400 years. The children of Abraham did not serve others in Palestine, nor were they afflicted by their neighbors in Canaan.²³ Anstey's introversion of Genesis 12:13 is really a circumnavigation of the real sense of the verse.²⁴

Keil and Delitzsch have suggested the importance of the passage as follows:

By this revelation Abram had the future history of his seed pointed out to him in general outlines, and was informed at the same time why neither he nor his descendants could obtain immediate possession of the promised land, viz., because the Canaanites were not yet ripe for the sentence of extermination.²⁵

The fourth objection is to the interpretation of Exodus 12:40 as based upon the variant readings. In refutation of this supporting evidence it may be said the more reliable text is the Massoretic text.²⁶ The implication of the Hebrew text is that the residence in Egypt occupied the whole 430 year period. It would certainly be more natural in reckoning the time of the departure from Egypt to give the length of the sojourn there than the period elapsed since Abraham entered Canaan.²⁷

While the context of the Galatians passage would seem to support the idea of 430 years elapsing between Abraham's call and the law, a possible solution is that Paul may be looking at periods or ages. This will be discussed later.

The objection, the fifth, here is that support could be rendered to the 215 year view if it could be determined that Paul used the Septuagint. In discussing this point, Ridderbos concludes that it is impossible to determine Paul's chronological source:

The LXX transmits Ex. 12:40 in such a way that the time in which Israel was in Egypt and in Canaan came to 430 years. There is, however, no equivalent for the words kai en gēi chanaan in the Hebrew text. It is therefore impossible for us to determine whether and in what sense Paul takes his figure from one or another of these data.²⁸

Such being the case, the final interpretation of Galatians 3:17 can not be based on the Septuagint. This relieves one from the necessity of supporting a 215 year Egyptian sojourn at this point, or from facing the definite problem of Paul's use of an inaccurate source.

A sixth objection is the insistence on a strict genealogical record of Exodus 6:16-20. This is admittedly a difficult problem. Keil and Delitzsch argue that the genealogical records are very often incomplete due to missing links. Their argument is as follows:

The genealogies do not always contain a complete enumeration of all the separate links, but very frequently intermediate links of little importance are omitted.²⁹

Keil and Delitzsch then demonstrate this by a comparison of Exodus 6:16-20 with the other genealogies in which more than four generations between Levi and Moses must have occurred.³⁰ Numbers 26:29ff, 27:1, and Joshua 17:3 show six generations from Joseph to Zelophehad. Ruth 4:18 and I Chronicles 2:5, 6 show six generations from Judah to Nahshon who was a tribal prince in the time of Moses. I Chronicles 2:18 lists seven generations from Judah to Bezabel. The most significant is possibly I Chronicles 7:20 which lists nine or ten generations from Joseph to Joshua. Keil and Delitzsch significantly have commented:

This last genealogy shows most clearly the impossibility of the view founded upon the Alexandrian version that the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt lasted only 215 years; for ten generations, reckoned at 40 years each, harmonize very well with 430 years, but certainly not with 215.³¹

Archer sees the same problem, although from a slightly different reckoning. His conclusion is that

. . . ten generations can hardly be reconciled with a mere 215 years (especially considering the longer life span of pre-Exodus Israelites), but it fits in very plausibly with an interval of 430 years.³²

The genealogy of Jochebed, then, does not support a short sojourn of 215 years in Egypt due to the problem of missing links in the genealogy itself.

Added to this is Thiele's statement:

That some considerable period was involved is clear from the fact that Joseph before his death saw the children of the third generation of both his sons (Gen. 50:23), and that at the time of Exodus Amram and his brothers were already regarded as founders of clans (Num. 3:27).³³

The increase from 70 to approximately one million Hebrews does in reality militate against the 215 year view. This is the final objection to the idea. It is certainly admitted that such an increase is Divinely possible in 215 years. In fact, even in the 430 year view the Divine blessing of Exodus 1:20 should be cited. Yet, the tremendous increase of the nation seems more plausible during a 430 year period. The problem of increase is more paramount with only 215 years of sojourning. Archer views the problem as follows:

If there were indeed only four generations, then the rate of multiplication would necessarily have been astronomical. Even if seven generations should be crammed into the 215 years, there would have had to be an average of four surviving sons per father.³⁴

In conclusion, from a study of the lines of evidence, an Egyptian bondage of 215 years was highly improbable and unlikely.

The View That The Egyptian
Sojourn Was 400 Years

Rea³⁵ and Hoehner³⁶ favor the position of a 400 year Egyptian bondage.

Rea proceeds to establish this idea by first of all accepting the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch readings of Exodus 12:40. The 430 years of that verse would thus apply to both Canaan and Egypt.³⁷ However, Rea reckons the beginning of this period not from Abraham's call, but from Jacob's return from Haran to Canaan with his family. Jacob's name was confirmed as Israel at that time. The grounds for this is an emphasis upon the phrase "the children of Israel" which is found in the Exodus 12 verse. To quote Rea:

The verse therefore states the length of time which elapsed from the return of Jacob from Haran to Canaan with his children, unto the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. The "exodus" of Jacob along with his family from Padan-aram is compared with the exodus of Moses accompanied by the nation of Israel from Egypt. Even when we adopt the longer reading in Exodus 12:40, the 430 years cannot cover the entire patriarchal age and the sojourn in Egypt, that is, from Abraham's arrival in Canaan until the Exodus. The verse distinctly says "the time that the children of Israel dwelt," and that cannot be made to include Abraham and Isaac.³⁸

Galatians 3:17 is viewed as giving support to this in stating that the 430 year period began with the confirmation, not the institution, of the Abrahamic covenant. The last confirmation was made with Jacob in Canaan years before the entrance into Egypt (Gen. 35:9-15).³⁹

The next step is to subtract the intervening time between Jacob's return to Canaan and his entrance into Egypt from the 430 years. This leaves approximately 400 years for the Egyptian sojourn and produces a harmony of Exodus 12:40 with Genesis 15:13 and Acts 13:19, 20. Commenting on Acts 13:19, 20 Rea makes his conclusion as follows:

According to the Apostle Paul, then, the time that the Israelites spent in Egypt was only four hundred years instead of 430 years. The slightly shorter period accords with the four hundred years of Gen. 15:13 and almost exactly with the 430 years of Ex. 12:40 (Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint Versions), thirty-four of which were spent in Canaan before Jacob and his sons descended into Egypt to sojourn there.⁴⁰

Rea believes that the Acts 13:19, 20 chronological note gives strong support for his view. In dealing with the textual problem connected with this passage, he has chosen the text of the Alexandrian family, the Latin Vulgate and the Armenian Version and made the following translation of the latter half of verse twenty:

He gave them their land for an inheritance--about four hundred and fifty years. And after these things He gave them judges until Samuel the prophet.⁴¹

This would mean 400 years for the Egyptian bondage, 40 years for the wilderness journey, and 7 years for the conquest of the land under Joshua's leadership, making a total of 447 years or "about 450 years" as the text states.

This is of course the alternative to the King James Version, based on the Byzantine texts, which places the four hundred and fifty years after the phrase "he gave unto them judges." This positioning of the figure would tend to indicate that it was meant to apply to the period of the judges instead of the Egyptian sojourn.⁴²

The first objection to this view is the use of the Septuagint and Samaritan renderings of Exodus 12:40. As already noted the Massoretic text is the more reliable text and its rendering of the passage does not include Canaan with Egypt in the 430 years. To include a Canaan sojourn in the reference does seem to be contrary to the point of the

reference which was to give the years spent in Egypt at the time of their termination.

To make the sojourning run from the return of Jacob to Canaan to the Exodus on the basis of the use of the appellation "the children of Israel" does seem rather forced.

A third objection is the restriction of the beginning of the 430 year period of Galatians 3 to the confirmation of the covenant in Genesis 35 when Jacob returned to Canaan. The last confirmation of the covenant to Jacob could very well be seen in Genesis 46 when he entered Egypt. As he journeyed to Egypt the Lord encouraged him and promised to make a great nation of him while in that land. The promise of a great posterity had its roots in the covenant and consequently its reiteration was another confirmation of its provisions. The 430 years would subsequently run from Jacob's entrance into Egypt until the Exodus under Moses' leadership.

In conclusion, this view does not seem to explain adequately the Biblical data.

The View That The Egyptian Sojourn Was 430 Years

This second most prevalent view simply states the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt was 430 years. This period began with Jacob's entrance into Egypt and terminated with the Exodus.

Some of the proponents of this view are Keil and Delitzsch, Archer,⁴⁴ Leupold,⁴⁵ Toussaint,⁴⁶ Lenski,⁴⁷ Jamieson, Fausset and Kitchen.⁴⁹

Basically, this view takes Genesis 15:13-16; Exodus 12:40 and Acts 7:6 in their normal sense. The Genesis 15 passage refers to the sojourn in a land not theirs when God has just deeded Palestine to Abraham and his seed (cf. 15:7, 18). Along with this it is also noted that Abraham's children did not serve others in Palestine, nor were they afflicted by their neighbors in Canaan.⁵⁰

The 400 years of the passage is to be considered as a rounded number used in prophetic style⁵¹ with the fourth generation reference of verse 16 denoting the same period of time. Archer has significantly commented:

It is evident that in Abraham's case a generation was computed at one hundred years, and this was

appropriate enough in view of the fact that Abraham was precisely one hundred when he became the father of Isaac. At least four centuries, then, and not a mere 215 years, would mark the Israelite sojourn in the foreign land.⁵²

An objection has been raised to the view under discussion because of the idea of a rounded number being used. The thought is that such an interpretation could allow too much liberty in the interpretation of other numbers in the Bible and consequently do damage to the doctrine of inspiration.⁵³ However, if it can be shown that the Bible does use rounded numbers then the doctrine of inspiration is in no way affected.⁵⁴ Paul, for example, in Acts 13 suggested such a use when he used the phrase "about the space of" in summarizing the years of the Egyptian bondage, the wilderness wanderings and the conquest of Canaan. The author of II Samuel rounds off the years of David's reign at 40 and then explains that the reign was actually composed of 7 years and 6 months at Hebron and 33 years at Jerusalem (II Sam. 5:4, 5). The enumeration of Job's possessions must have involved the use of rounded numbers for it would have been trivial for the author to have given an odd ten or fifty or hundred in figures running into thousands.⁵⁵

The Bible then, does contain rounded numbers. The real issue is determining, mainly by context, the use of such figures in any one text.

The normal literal sense of Exodus 12:40, with the Massoretic text being preferred, is a 430 year Egyptian sojourn for Israel.

The Acts 7:6 passage is evidently a quote of Genesis 15:13. It reads as follows:

And God spake on this wise, that his seed should sojourn in a strange land, and that they should bring them into bondage and treat them ill, four hundred years.

Chadwick sees Peter quoting

. . . plainly and confidently the prediction that the seed of Abraham should be four hundred years in bondage and that one nation should entreat them evil four hundred years⁵⁶

A second argument for this view is the support of Acts 13:19, 20. Following the A.S.V., which is based on B, Aleph, A, and C, the four best texts according to Westcott and Hort,⁵⁷ the four hundred and

fifty years, which preceded the period of the judges, would include the rounded number of 400 for the Egyptian sojourn. Lenski has arranged the chronology of the passage as follows:

The round number "about 450 years" covers the time for the sojourn in Egypt to the possession of Canaan. According to Acts 7:6 (Gen. 15:13) 400 years were spent in Egypt, forty additional years in the journey through the desert to Canaan, and about ten further years for conquering the land which is certainly close to 450 years.⁵⁸

A third argument is the genealogical tables in I Chronicles 7:20-27, indicating nine or ten generations between Joseph and Joshua. As already suggested ten generations can hardly be reconciled with a mere 215 years.

From this a fourth argument is derived. The increase of the Hebrew population from 70 to approximately one million is more plausible with nine or ten generations in 430 years than with three or four generations in 215 years. Such an increase in 215 years is very difficult to comprehend, although it is divinely possible, of course.

Archer has demonstrated the plausibility of the increase in 430 years in the following quotation:

If the sojourn lasted 430 years, then the desired multiplication would result from an average of three sons and three daughters to every married couple during the first six generations, and an average of two sons and two daughters in the last four generations. At this rate, by the tenth generation there would be (according to Delitzsch, Pentateuch, II, 30) 478,224 sons above twenty by the four hundredth year of the sojourn, while 125,326 males of military age would still be left over from the ninth generation. These together, then, would total 603,550 men at arms.⁵⁹

The problem in connection with this genealogical consideration is the genealogical line in Exodus 6:16-20. This is admittedly a difficult problem. The solution may very well be that there were two men by the name of Amram in this line.⁶⁰ Amram, the son of Kohath, was probably an earlier ancestor of Amram, the father of Moses.

In fact, a simple comparison of this genealogy with Numbers 3:27, 28 will show the impossibility of assuming that the father of Moses in verse 20 was the son of Kohath mentioned in verse 18. According

to Numbers 3:27, 28 the Kohathites were divided (in Moses' time) into the four branches, Amramites, Isharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites, who consisted together of 8,600 men and boys. If divided equally a fourth, or 2,150 men, would belong to the Amramites. According to Exodus 18:3, 4, Moses himself had only two sons. Consequently, if Amram the son of Kohath, and tribal father of the Amramites, was the same person as Amram the father of Moses, Moses must have had 2,147 brothers and brothers' sons. But this would be absolutely impossible and it must be granted that an indefinitely long list of generations has been omitted between the former and latter descendant of the same name.⁶¹

Kitchen argues that Exodus 6:16-20 gives the tribe (Levi), clan (Kohath) and family-group (Amram by Jochebed) to which Moses and Aaron belong and not their actual parents.⁶²

In connection with this 430 year view, there is the problem of Paul's statement in Galatians 3:17 which seems to indicate the time from Abraham to Sinai was 430 years.

Some possible solutions have been suggested. Lenski's suggestion is that the time is an understatement on the part of Paul. His purpose was to convince his opponents the number could have been larger by understating it.⁶³ This is, however, a very weak argument and does not fit the exactness that characterizes the Apostle in his writings (cf. 1:16-2:21).

A second solution has been given by Jamieson, Fausset and Brown, The assertion of this view is that the 430 years are to be reckoned from Jacob to the giving of the law.⁶⁴ The objection to this view is that the context of Galatians 3 concerns Abraham and not Jacob.

A more satisfactory solution is the one offered by Toussaint which is as follows:

Paul here is considering periods of time. The promises were given during the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This period of time preceded the giving of the Mosaic law at Sinai by 430 years, the length of the sojourn in Egypt.⁶⁵

As previously discussed, the last recorded confirmation is given in Genesis 46 when Jacob went down into Egypt. From this last recorded confirmation to the Exodus 430 years elapsed.

In conclusion, the 430 year view is based upon a normal interpretation of Exodus 12:40 which indicates a 430 year Egyptian sojourn

for Israel. Genesis 15:13-16 and Acts 7:6 are interpreted as containing rounded numbers. This is true also of Acts 13:19, 20 which summarizes the "about" 450 years before the judges.

Further confirmation of this view is the genealogical table of I Chronicles 7:20-27 which indicates at least nine or ten generations between Joseph and Joshua, making the increase from 70 to approximately one million more plausible. The problem of Amram in Exodus 6:16-20 can be answered by the argument of there being two men in that line by that name.

The interpretation of Galatians 3:17 is answered by the suggestion Paul is referring to periods or ages, i.e., 430 years elapsed between the period of the confirmation of the Abrahamic covenant and the beginning of the period of the law.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to consider three solutions to the problem of the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt. The views of 215 years and 400 years are rejected as inadequate basically because of their interpretation of Exodus 12:40, i.e., their acceptance of the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch readings of the verse in contra-distinction to the Massoretic text.

The view of 430 years is set forth as the true solution to the problem, being based upon the better text, the Massoretic, and properly interpreting the pertinent scripture references in their normal sense.

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30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Gleason L. Archer, A Survey of Old Testament Introduction (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964), p. 212.
33. Edwin R. Thiele, "Chronology, Old Testament," The Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary, ed. Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Company, 1963), p. 167. Thiele

argues that it is impossible to give a categorical answer as to all that is involved in the 430 year sojourn, but then goes on to imply that on the bases of Galatians 3:16, 17 the sojourn must have included both Canaan and Egypt.

34. Archer, p. 212.
35. John Rea, "The Historical Setting of the Exodus and the Conquest" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Grace Theological Seminary, 1958), pp. 80ff.
36. Harold W. Hoehner, "The Duration of the Egyptian Bondage," Bibliotheca Sacra, CXXVI (October-December, 1969), pp. 313-16.
37. Rea, p. 80. Hoehner does not place much stock in either the Septuagint or Samaritan Pentateuch for chronological notices, but does comment that the inclusion of "in the land of Canaan" in both texts "may point back to some early tradition in the text. It is somewhat difficult to explain its inclusion except that there was some sort of early tradition for this reading," pp. 315-16.
38. Rea, p. 80.
39. Hoehner, pp. 313-14.
40. Rea, p. 81. He actually holds that the Egyptian sojourn was 396 years due to the 34 years mentioned above. The number 400 is an approximate number. Hoehner would see the 400 years as exact due to the doctrine of inspiration, p. 313.
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54. See the following for listing and discussions of rounded numbers in the Bible: John J. Davis, Biblical Numerology (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1968), pp. 51-54; William T. Smith, "Number," The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), IV, 2158-69.

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THE MEANING OF HEART

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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The Biblical doctrine of the heart is one of the most important studies dealing with the nonmaterial nature of man. To understand the nonmaterial nature of man, one must understand the heart of man. In Mark 12:30, Jesus commands man to love God with all his heart.¹ Since we are to love God with all the heart, it is of utmost importance to the Christian life that the heart be understood. Lewis S. Chafer notes:

The word heart occurs over 600 times in the Old Testament and at least 210 times in the New Testament The extensive use of the word heart in all its varied implications places it in a position of extreme importance.²

Understanding the heart of man is also crucial in light of the contemporary study of the make-up of man. The Bible is not a psychology handbook, but when it speaks on this subject, the Word of God is authoritative. What the Bible has to say on the heart is, therefore, of the utmost value and will shed light on the natural man. When the Bible finds need to dip into the nonmaterial man and construct a psychology, it does not hesitate to do so. As the Bible is authoritative, what is written concerning the make-up of man must be accepted as fact.

The term "heart" (kardia) is never used in the New Testament to refer to the physical organ of man as the term is used when reference is made to heart in the Old Testament.³ But the Hebrews also used the term in reference to the nonmaterial nature of man. The use grew from the concept that the heart is essential to physical life. It was a natural transition to bring the term over to the spiritual world as was done by the time of the ministry of Jesus. The New Testament sees the heart figuratively as the center of the real person, the center of spiritual life. Oswald Chambers recognizes this centrality of the heart:

According to the Bible the heart is the centre: The centre of physical life, the centre of mercy, the centre of damnation and salvation, the centre of God's working and the centre of the devil's working, the centre from which everything works which moulds the human mechanism.⁴

Paul's phrases, "Doing the will of God from the heart,"⁵ and "I have you in my heart"⁶ use the word "heart" as the center of man. Christ in the Parable of the Sower likened the ground to the heart of man, a reference to the heart as the center of the nonmaterial man.⁷ The heart physically is the center from which life is dispersed to the body, so the heart figuratively is the center from which spiritual vitality is spread to the personality. Chambers explains:

The heart is not merely the seat of affections, it is the center of everything. The heart is the central altar and the body is the outer court. What we offer on the altar of the heart will tell ultimately through the extremities of the body.⁸

Whether viewed as a unit or as a section of the personality, the heart remains a picture of the fountainhead of life. William P. Dickson observes these conclusions:

In the great majority of passages, it is absolutely necessary to give to the term the wider meaning, which obviously is implied in the cardinal counsel of Proverbs 4:23: "Keep thy heart with all diligence (literally: above all that is kept--prae omni re custodienda) for out of it are the issues of life." It is not merely the receptacle of impressions and the seat of emotions, but the laboratory of thought and the fountainhead of purpose. Sometimes it appears as pre-eminently the organ of intelligence, as at Romans 1:21: "Their foolish (asunetos) heart was darkened"; II Corinthians 3:15; "a veil lieth upon their heart"; II Corinthians 4:6: "God . . . shined in our hearts"; Ephesians 1:18: "having the eyes of your heart enlightened" (tēs kardias instead of dianoias); . . .⁹

Having established the heart as the central seat of nonmaterial man, a definition of the term "heart" is in order, because it has been misunderstood and disputed. In the circles of Christianity no consensus of thought has settled upon a definition. M. Scott Fletcher has stated "this term is the least disputed in its meaning . . . within the cycles of its use

in Scripture."¹⁰ He has defined heart as "the one organ of all thinking and of all willing as well as all feeling."¹¹ This definition is near to being accurate, although it leaves out the aspect of moral conscience. So the heart is the central seat and organ of man's conscious life in its moral, intellectual, volitional, and emotional aspects. Emotion, intellect, will and the power of morality are all aspects of the heart and are included in the make-up of a normal child when born into the world. An examination of these four aspects of the heart is now in order.

First, the heart is said to be the center of intellect. The word "heart" conveys the meaning that is implied to the word "brain" in this modern era. The word "brain" is not found in the Bible. As Chambers states, "in the Bible the heart, and not the brain, is revealed to be the centre of thinking."¹² Franz Delitzsch concludes similarly:

The result of our investigation is pretty much this: that Scripture without excluding head and brain (as we may see on a glance at Daniel 2:28, etc.) from psycho-spiritual activities and affections, attributes the central agency of these to the heart.¹³

Hebrews 4:12 ("the thoughts and intents of the heart") and Hebrews 8:10 ("I will put my laws into their mind, and on their hearts also will I write them") show the heart is the instrument of thinking and mental processes. Reasoning and memory are aspects of the heart according to Mark 2:8, Luke 2:51 and I Corinthians 14:25. Thinking is definitely a function that takes place in the heart.¹⁴ Chambers agrees to this when he states:

Thinking takes place in the heart, not in the brain. The real spiritual powers of a man reside in the heart, which is the centre of the physical life, of the soul life, and of the spiritual life. The expression of thinking is referred to the brain and the lips because through these organs thinking becomes articulate.¹⁵

Perception is another function within the intellectual capacities of the heart. When Christ speaks of the inability to perceive spiritual things, it is because of a darkened heart (Matthew 13:14). Oswald Chambers places the capacity of perception within the heart.

Perception means the power to discern what we hear and see and read; the power to discern the history of the nations to which we belong, the power to discern in our personal lives. This power is also in the heart.¹⁶

Knowledge and stimuli of the outer world are perceived by the heart and assimilated for mental use. Mary kept all the events of Christ's early life "stored in the heart" (Luke 2:51). In Hebrews 10:16 mind and heart are used synonymously for the storehouse of knowledge, "I will put my laws on their hearts and upon their mind will I write them."

The second function within the heart is that of emotions. According to Chafer the heart is "easily considered the center of sensibility."¹⁷ Man is among other things, an emotional creature and these feelings are resident in the heart. Fletcher places emotions in the heart when he writes:

More than any other Biblical writer Paul regards the 'heart' as the seat of feelings. We shall see later that the Apostle takes over from the Greek certain psychological terms to express the mental and moral aspects of man's inner life, and so is free to develop in harmony with O. T. precedents, the emotional meaning of the heart.¹⁸

Five aspects of emotions as suggested by A.I. Gates will be used as a basis for examining the emotional nature of the heart.¹⁹ (1) Anger is seen by Jesus as coming from the heart: "For out of the heart comes forth evil thoughts . . . railings" (Matthew 15:19). (2) Fear, which can be in the form of dread, terror, anxiety, grief or worry, can grip or control the heart. Jesus said, "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid" (John 14:27), and "Because I have spoken these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart" (John 16:6). (3) Joy or love can characterize the third emotion which Gates calls excitement. Acts 2:46 records, "They took food with gladness and singleness of heart." Jesus said, "I will see you again and your heart will rejoice" (John 16:22). (4) Remorse can be pictured as pity, sympathy or sorrow, another type of emotion. Paul expresses this as coming from the heart, "I have great sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart" (Romans 9:2). (5) Finally, the emotion of sex is seen as stemming from the heart. The depraved side of sex issues from the heart, "For out of the heart comes forth evil thoughts . . . adulteries, fornications" (Matthew 15:19). The positive aspect of love is seen as husbands are exhorted to love their wives (Ephesians 5:25) and men are to "love the Lord thy God with all thy heart" (Matthew 22:37).

The third function of the heart is moral consciousness. Deep within man there is a consciousness of a divine being, an enlightenment to a divine standard, this is within the heart. In Romans 2:15 the conscience is placed in the heart, acting as a moral regulator. S. Lewis

Johnson says of this verse: "It seems clear that the heart is here considered as the seat of the moral consciousness."²⁰ Hebrews 10:22 also implies the conscience as being in the heart, "having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience." The root for "conscience" is suneidēsis, a knowing with oneself. Since memory, thinking and volition are necessary functions of conscience, it is natural to place conscience in the heart, because memory, thinking and volition function in the heart.²¹ The conscience and heart are also the place where God works with the individual.²² The heart is the nonmaterial organ in man which has the capacity to perceive an absolute standard and accept a knowledge of the person of God. Fletcher has summarized moral consciousness:

The "heart" being considered in Biblical Psychology the organ of all possible states of consciousness, is pre-eminently the seat of moral consciousness or conscience. In it lies the fountainhead of the moral life of man. Hence in the N.T. "the heart" is the metaphorical term for the whole inner character and its ethical significance cannot be overrated.²³

Volition or the will is the last function of the heart. This is the power or faculty within man to take deliberate action based upon personal desire. To will, man has the ability to make a choice. Paul wrote, "But thanks be to God, that whereas ye were servants of sin, ye became obedient from the heart" (Romans 6:17). Johnson explains this verse as: "This obedience is described as ek kardia. It seems evident that in this passage the heart is considered to be the seat of the will."²⁴ The will is apparently not connected with the brain, but with the heart which is the center of thought. An act of choice taking place in the heart is seen in II Corinthians 9:7, "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart." Obedience is a form of volition and Ephesians 6:5 locates volition in the heart; "Be obedient to them that are your masters . . . with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart."²⁵ Both the fixing of our will (Romans 6:17) and the planning of our will (II Corinthians 9:7) are found in the heart.

Although explanations of the four functions of the heart have been given, the heart must be seen as a whole or a totality to be correctly understood. These functions, in reality, cannot be separated because they interact and depend one upon the other. Therefore, volition, moral consciousness, thinking and emotion stem from the heart, interacting and functioning, dependent on one another. The person acts as a unit, not as a sectionalized being.

With a better understanding of the heart of man, one might ask "But what is the relation of the heart to the nonmaterial parts of man?"

These are soul, spirit, mind, conscience, flesh, old man-new man and old nature-new nature.

The soul and spirit are both nonmaterial and have a relationship to the heart. However, a guard must be taken against using the terms "spirit," "soul" and "heart" synonymously. There are three different capacities in the inner man. Johnson writes concerning these differences:

. . . the term kardia may include the psuchē and the pneuma since their activity takes place in the kardia. From this passage (Romans 5:5) it can be seen that the kardia is the seat and center of the activity of the Holy Spirit, hence also of the human spirit.²⁶

In essence the soul-spirit is amoral. The heart motivates the soul-spirit, being the driving force to evil or belief. It is the heart that is morally good or bad. Fletcher notes this same point, "It (the heart) is the starting point of all his activities."²⁷ The lust of man's heart can motivate the person (Matthew 5:18, 19). The truth of I Peter 1:22 shows that "the purifying of our souls" is the result of the motivation of the heart by obedience. Obedience comes from the heart (Romans 6:17). Also, emotions founded in the heart are expressed through the soul-spirit into the body.

Since the heart, as seen earlier, is the dynamic in man, the soul-spirit must be seen as capacities where the heart functions, the soul-spirit has no power of or in itself. With this proper understanding of the relation of soul-spirit with the heart, certain obscurities confusing the functions of the soul-spirit should be answered. Apparently, Mark 8:12 points to the spirit as the focus of emotions. But the spirit functions through the heart in this capacity. Another function of the soul-spirit in interaction with the heart is receiving the knowledge of God (I Corinthians 2:6-14). Fletcher speaks to this point:

The "heart" then, means the inmost and essential part of man whereby the human spirit functions in response to the presence to the Divine Spirit. 'The love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit.' The "heart" is the meeting place of the human spirit and the Holy Spirit.²⁸

The second function of the soul-spirit through the heart is employing and manifesting spiritual reality, receiving and manifesting spiritual principles and reality. The heart believes; the soul is saved. The heart expresses volition, but "the Spirit beareth witness with our spirit" (Romans 8:16).

The mind is another nonmaterial aspect of man that is not synonymous with the heart in the New Testament.²⁹ Yet, the functions of the mind are sometimes attributed to the heart.³⁰ In answer to this, the mind functions through the heart as does the soul-spirit.

The mind has an ethical aspect.³¹ Titus 1:15 speaks of the mind and conscience being defiled, the conscience and mind functioning through the heart. If man has a corrupt heart, he has a corrupt mind because the latter functions through the heart. Such effects as "a darkened understanding" (Ephesians 4:18) or "a reprobate mind" (Romans 11:28) are the results of an unconverted heart. Regeneration includes the total man, thus the heart and the mind are renewed. Romans 12:2 speaks of regenerate man having the capacity of renewing the mind and I John 5:20 notes a new understanding and knowledge of "him that is true."

Although the mind functions through the heart, it maintains a consciousness to the world outside. The heart and mind have both the capacity of a self consciousness and a perception of outer stimuli. As Fletcher explains:

It (the heart) was regarded as the storehouse into which all sensations were received and the work house from which all acts proceeded. . . . The heart was the one organ of all thinking and of all willing as well as all feeling. It was the meeting place of all man's powers of mind.³²

The conscience, which is another nonmaterial aspect of man, is the ability within man to discern right and wrong on the basis of knowledge, sometimes called a moral regulator. The conscience functions through the heart since the heart is the seat of all moral consciousness. Having survived the fall and being a part of man's perpetual endowment, the conscience is a witness to man of both an absolute standard and the existence of God. Wallace Emerson points out, "Conscience is definitely not, as some would have it, the voice of God's Holy Spirit talking to us."³³ Here he means an infallible guidance system to guide man in moral decisions. As will be seen later, the conscience can make a mistake. Delitzsch in his view of Biblical psychology indicates the purpose of conscience, "the conscience bears witness to man of the universal law of God as set forth in Romans 2:15."³⁴

There is a direct relationship between knowledge and conscience which is inferred by Paul in II Corinthians 4:2, "By the manifestation of truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience." This places close interaction between heart and conscience. Delitzsch asks, "Might not men's knowledge about his relationship to God from the beginning be

called conscience?"³⁵ Thinking, memory and perception all come to action in the operation of the conscience. Having used the processes of thinking to discern, the conscience having no power to motivate then acts as a moral regulator. The conscience discerns; the heart motivates.³⁶

Although conscience is an endowment at birth, as is the mind, both can grow and develop; thus the conscience has the potential of becoming a fair guide to the heart. Paul had developed a conscience that did not offend God or man (Acts 24:16). In I Corinthians 8:12 Paul speaks of a "weak" conscience, inferring the possibility to develop and become stronger. Paul also infers moral growth of conscience in his challenge to have a "good conscience" (I Timothy 1:19). But the conscience can also be weakened. When the conscience discerns moral issues, but the entire man acts evil, the heart has willed to ignore the conscience. The conscience loses its effectiveness to discern moral truth when it is continually rejected and the person gives himself to sin. In Titus 1:15 such a case is spoken of, "Their minds and their conscience are defiled." Here, the conscience had degenerated; not only was it useless to discern but by being defiled, what was wrong becomes right in its regulation. Thus, the heart and conscience have an inner-relationship that is of utmost importance in directing the moral life of man.

The heart has been shown as the motivating power in man; also, the heart has been seen as containing the seat of lust in the individual. These facts relate the heart very definitely to the "flesh" and/or "old man" within the scope of the nonmaterial parts of man. This use of the word "flesh" is explained by James Hastings, "The flesh is the present abode of sin, which requires an obedient subject to execute its belief."³⁷ The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia identifies "the old man" with "the flesh" in defining "old man":

A term thrice used by Paul (Romans 6:6; Ephesians 4:22; Colossians 3:9) to signify the unrenewed man, the natural man in the corruption of sin, i.e. sinful human nature before conversion and regeneration. It is theologically synonymous with flesh (Romans 8:3-9), which stands not for bodily organism, but for the whole nature of man.³⁸

The power that forces man to do evil is called lust in the Scripture. Paul sees lust as proceeding from the heart (Romans 1:24) and the flesh (Ephesians 2:3). This might seem contradictory, but when flesh is seen as functioning through the heart, there is no difficulty. Johnson places lust in the heart:

The heart is spoken of as that which lusts or possesses lust. Of course, the word epithumia is neutral in itself and it may refer to a good desire as well as an evil desire . . . it is used here (Romans 1:24) to indicate evil lusts as the context and the following phrase proves. Thus in the passage under consideration the heart is seen to be the seat of the lust.³⁹

The flesh and the heart cannot be equated. They are different capacities of the nonmaterial man and must be treated as such. Their interaction is complex, the flesh and/or old man having their abode or function through the heart. Since lust is the function of sin and is the focus of sin in the individual, man's total depravity or inability to satisfy God is centered in the heart and penetrates every part of man's existence. John Laidlow has made a good summary:

In the heart lies the moral and religious condition of man. Only what enters the heart forms a possession of moral worth, and only what comes from the heart is a moral production. On the one hand, therefore, the Bible places human depravity in the heart because sin is a principle which has penetrated to the centre, and thus corrupts the whole circuit of life.⁴⁰

The heart issues lust because it is the seat of the flesh and/or old man. Also, the correlation of depravity is seen in this realm because the heart is the center of the nonmaterial man. Because the heart is depraved, the whole inner man is corrupt. The corruption of the heart affects all capacities of the nonmaterial make-up of man.

Thus, the heart, which is the seat of man's conscious life in its moral, volitional, intellectual and emotional aspects is vitally related to and is the center of the nonmaterial man. The soul-spirit, moral consciousness, mind and flesh of man are vitally related to the heart and function through the heart.

DOCUMENTATION

1. All references to Scripture in this article will be from the American Standard Version of 1901.
2. Lewis Sperry Chafer, Systematic Theology, II, 187-88.
3. Exodus 24:29; I Samuel 25:38; II Samuel 18:14; II Kings 9:24.
4. Oswald Chambers, Biblical Theology, p. 100.
5. Ephesians 6:6.
6. Philippians 1:7.

7. Cf. Luke 8:12.
8. Chambers, op. cit., p. 107.
9. William P. Dickson, St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit, pp. 201-2.
10. M. Scott Fletcher, The Psychology of the New Testament, p. 74.
11. Ibid., p. 76.
12. Chambers, op. cit., p. 97.
13. Franz Delitzsch, A System of Biblical Psychology, p. 302.
14. See also Matthew 24:48 and Romans 10:6.
15. Chambers, op. cit., pp. 124-25.
16. Ibid., pp. 110-11.
17. Chafer, op. cit., p. 187.
18. Fletcher, op. cit., p. 79.
19. A. I. Gates, Psychology for Students of Education, p. 165. The listing of five types of emotions is accepted for use in this article and no attempt is made to establish the validity of only five classes of emotions.
20. S. Lewis Johnson, "A Survey of Biblical Psychology in the Epistle to the Romans" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas, 1949), p. 76.
21. See Footnotes 11, 14 and 16.
22. See Romans 5:5; Ephesians 3:16; II Corinthians 1:22; Colossians 3:15.
23. Fletcher, op. cit., p. 88.
24. Johnson, op. cit., p. 102.
25. Also see Hebrews 3:8 and Acts 7:39.
26. Johnson, op. cit., p. 101.
27. Fletcher, op. cit., pp 76-77.
28. Ibid., p. 87.
29. Note Mark 12:39 and Philippians 4:7.
30. See Hebrews 4:12; Romans 10:6; Acts 24:38.
31. Colossians 2:18; Romans 7:25.
32. Fletcher, op. cit., p. 76.
33. Wallace Emerson, Outline of Psychology, p. 435.
34. Delitzsch, op. cit., pp. 160-61.
35. Ibid., p. 167.
36. Note Hebrews 9:14, 13:18; I Peter 2:19; Romans 9:1.
37. James Hastings, A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, II, 600.
38. Dwight M. Pratt, "Old Man," The International Standard Bible Dictionary, IV, 2183.
39. Johnson, op. cit., p. 93.
40. John Laidlow, The Bible Doctrine of Man, p. 122.

BOOK REVIEWS

FOR MISSIONARIES ONLY. By Joseph L. Cannon. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1969, \$2.95. (cloth)

This short but well-written book will probably be like a bombshell exploding in some of our evangelical bunkers. It may shake our "good earth" and raise the dust (perhaps also some disgust) but it is the type of literature on missions which has been needed for some time.

The author paints his picture of missions by means of forty-seven short stories and commentaries on the work of missions today. He speaks on issues which are very much alive in every geographical area where a foreign missionary might serve, the intensity depending on the area and people involved. He writes on such subjects as: fruit-bearing, frustrations and finance, homeland deputation, the homing pigeon tendencies of missionaries, indigenous church policies, paternalism, new missionaries, the drop-out problem, incompatibility between missionaries themselves and between missionaries and nationals, missionary wives and kids, culture-shock, language study and what he likes and hates about missionary life.

While I believe this book is intended to disturb the sleep of some of our Church people and hopefully arouse them to a new understanding of the missionary endeavor, the author did not spare criticism of missionaries. Such statements as the following show the balance with which Mr. Cannon approached his subject:

It is possible to be called a missionary and not actually be one...you can be sent to save souls and not actually, personally, save one...sometimes the presence of a missionary makes it hard on the local preacher...(missionaries) brow-beat the audience, make themselves superior and every one else inferior.

Mr. Cannon is to be commended for his candid evaluation of the joys and sorrows of modern mission activity. Not every missionary would dare speak openly as he has on some basic areas of universal concern,

but every missionary should read the book. Pastors interested in missions and supporters of missionaries should read it. The only ones who might not profit from it are the immature and hyper-critical.

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IT'S ALWAYS TOO SOON TO QUIT. By Mel Larson. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1968, \$3.95. 157 pp.

Football enthusiasts will enjoy the story of Stephen Orr Spurrier. He is an outstanding athlete, record holder and active Christian molded into one person. With innate ability, excellent coaching and heavenly blessing, he became an All-American selection from the University of Florida, the 1966 recipient of the coveted Heisman Award and the first draft of the San Francisco 49ers.

The Steve Spurrier story is related in the first person as told to Mel Larson. The autobiography is captivating, the awards fabulous and the Christian testimony clear. This is a book which could easily be given to an unsaved person, especially a youth. If the reader thinks that this star is more than mortal, Spurrier dissolves the halo with stories of a three-day expulsion from school and a removal from a football game because of a scuffle.

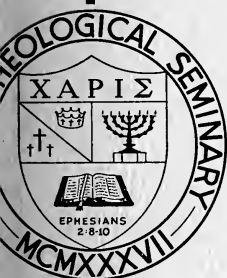
Spurrier is the son of a Southern Presbyterian minister. He maintains an active life of prayer, Bible study and personal witnessing. He influenced his elementary, high school and college teams to pray before and after each game. While not a fast player, he learned to be quick in action and relaxed when out of play. Spurrier lives by a philosophy expressed in mottoes and slogans, such as the title of this book. Whether winning or losing, he would give the game his best. According to Spurrier, it never has been God's will that a team should win every game. With ability, courage, courtesy and preparation, a player will enjoy success. A "blossoming" athlete should not pray to be an All-American or winner of the Heisman Award, but that God will sharpen his abilities and talents for His glory.

James H. Gabhart

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BOOKS RECEIVED

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ATRA-ḤASĪS: A SURVEY

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New discoveries continue to revive interest in the study of the ancient Near East. The recent collation and publication of the Atra-ḥasīs Epic is a very significant example of the vigor of this field, especially as the ancient Near East is brought into comparison with the Old Testament. The epic is a literary form of Sumero-Babylonian traditions about the creation and early history of man, and the Flood. It is a story that not only bears upon the famous Gilgameš Epic, but also needs to be compared to the narrative of the Genesis Flood in the Old Testament. The implications inherent in the study of such an epic as Atra-ḥasīs must certainly impinge on scholars' understanding of earth origins and geology.

The advance in research that has been conducted relative to Atra-ḥasīs is graphically apparent when one examines the (ca. 1955) rendering by Speiser¹ in comparison with the present volume by Lambert and Millard.²

Although Atra-ḥasīs deals with both creation and flood, the present writer has set out to give his attention to the flood material only. Literature on mythological genres is voluminous. Therefore the present writer will limit this study to a survey of the source material which underlies Atra-ḥasīs, a discussion of its content and its relation to the Old Testament and the Gilgameš Epic.

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SOURCE MATERIAL

The source material behind the present edition has been a long time in coming to the fore. The great amount of energies that have been expended on this research will hardly be reflected in this brief study; however, the main lines of endeavor can be traced.

One may surmise that the Atra-ḫasīs epic flourished in Babylonian civilization for some 1,500 years. At the time of Alexander the Great, when Hellenism figuratively and literally buried what was left of Mesopotamian cultural influence in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, Atra-ḫasīs was lost. For over two thousand years the only record known to man of a great Flood was the story in Genesis. Berossus, a Babylonian priest about the time of Alexander, wrote a Babylonian history which is also lost. Fragmented traditions of his history have come down to the present through such worthies as Polyhistor and Eusebius.³

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of serious exploration in Mesopotamia, particularly among British and French interests. Reliefs and monuments were unearthed and taken to Western museums. Thousands of clay tablets awaited decipherment, an interesting process in its own right.⁴ Kuyunjik, the larger mound at Nineveh,⁵ is the site where much Atra-ḫasīs material was found, although its identification was not apparent for a long time. In 1842/3 Paul Émile Botta first dug at Kuyunjik, but he did not find any spectacular museum pieces such as were expected in those days. Austen Henry Layard⁶ secured British rights to dig in the area and this caused a conflict with French interests. By 1851 the palace of Sennacherib had been found.⁷ Hormuzd Rassam, a Christian of local extraction, who favored the British, became the leader of native digging efforts. At first he and his helpers dug secretly at night. Having come across the most magnificent reliefs found to date, Rassam continued digging by day. They had dug into the palace of Assyria's last great king, Ashurbanipal.⁸ His library is now well known as one of the great discoveries from antiquity. Practically all of Ashurbanipal's library was taken to the British Museum, thanks to Layard and Rassam.

In London a "layman" in scholarly circles was put to work sorting the fragments of Ashurbanipal's collection. This man was George Smith. At fourteen the humble lad was apprenticed to a firm of bank-note engravers. From an Old Testament background, his first love soon took over in his life as he read with diligence concerning the archaeology of Mesopotamia. He gave up engraving for archaeology before long, and soon was at work collating the thousands of fragments of Ashurbanipal's library. In his own words, Smith mentions with kindness the labors of Botta. Botta found Sargon's palace (which dated from

ca. 722-705 B. C.) at Khorsabad, after his work at Nineveh had proven a failure.⁹ He mentions Layard and Rassam as well, but does not mention Rassam's nocturnal digging.¹⁰ Smith showed that he knew as much about the tablets as anyone and in 1866, at the age of twenty-six, he was made Assistant in the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the museum.

Others knew that works of mythology were preserved, but only George Smith collected and joined enough broken pieces to reconstruct entire episodes, and only he could understand the content. His lack of philological training was made up for by hard work and sheer genius.¹¹

It was on December 3, 1872, nearly one hundred years ago, that Smith read a paper to the Society of Biblical Archaeology concerning his discovery of a Babylonian version of the Biblical Flood story. This paper rocked the world of Biblical scholarship. Four years later Smith published The Chaldean Account of Genesis, and among this selection of Babylonian literary texts was one Smith called "the story of Atarpi."¹² This is now known as the Epic of Atra-hasīs.

An amazing feature of the story of the gathering of the fragments that make up Atra-hasīs is the unusual length of time required to join the fragments properly. Smith had three broken pieces, enough to gain a plot and to distinguish this from other creation/flood stories. Smith mistook obverse for reverse and his mistake was not corrected properly until 1956. Even more amazing is the fact that, after Smith's untimely death in 1876, the three "Atarpi" fragments became separated and were not joined again until 1899, and the third of the pieces was not published until 1965, and not joined to the other two until 1967. This is the reason that Atra-hasīs is spoken of as a "new" flood epic: it is new because its tablet sequence has only recently been finalized.

Other fragments of Atra-hasīs naturally experienced independent histories from their discovery to their publication. V. Scheil, a French priest, published a fragment of a flood epic in 1898. His differed from Smith's, and he dated it to the reign of Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646-26 B. C.) of the Old Babylonian dynasty.¹³ The same year a mythological text from the same period was copied by T. G. Pinches. This last text describes the creation of man.¹⁴ In 1899, the German scholar, Heinrich Zimmern wrote an article in which he gave the Umschrift of Smith's two then available fragments, showed Scheil's and Pinches' work was of the same epic,¹⁵ and demonstrated that the name of the hero should be not Atarpi, but Atra, or Atra-hasīs. Still at this point the correct order of the fragments was undetermined, and so the matter remained for fifty years.

It remained for the Danish scholar, Jørgen Laessøe, to point out the proper sequence.¹⁶ Lambert and Millard take credit for publishing material done by the same original scribe who wrote Scheil's 1898 fragment. This material had been in the British Museum since 1889.

CONTENT OF THE EPIC

By way of definition, the Epic of Atra-ḫasīs is more a literary tradition than a narrative with precise bounds and limits. Lambert states that plagiarism and a lack of respect for literary rights were common in the ancient world.¹⁷ The only "title" that Atra-ḫasīs had in antiquity is seen repeated in the colophon at the end of each tablet, inūma ilu awīlum, "When the gods like man."¹⁸

The principal edition used by Lambert was copied out by Ku-Aya, "the junior scribe." This fact is also discernible in the colophons. Scheil in 1898 had given the name as Ellet-Aya or Mulil-Aya; neither of these is acceptable. It is known that kū + divine name is Sumerian.¹⁹ At one time there was some question about kū in Old Babylonian, but this sign is found in the Code of Hammurapi²⁰ as well as in Ammiṣa-ḫuqa's own famous "Edict."²¹ Ku-Aya's text is not that of a schoolboy, even though he is called "junior scribe." He did his copying ca. 1630 B. C., if one holds to the "middle chronology," the majority opinion, on Babylonian chronology.²² The original must be before 1630 B. C., making Atra-ḫasīs one of the oldest, practically complete texts now known. Ku-Aya's work is an edition in three tablets. Other collated pieces must be relegated to much later periods, to the Late Assyrian (ca. 700-650 B. C.) in particular. George Smith's "story of Atarpi," now brought into comparison with the other pieces, must be of the Assyrian Recension, according to Lambert, since it shows marked Assyrian dialectal forms. The distinction between Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian would show up in the orthography as well. The Assyrian story is essentially the same as Ku-Aya's, but substantially rewritten, Neo-Babylonian fragments differ even more. A Ras Shamra fragment, written in Akkadian, not Ugaritic, has been found, and is included in Lambert, Its first three lines read:

re'-nu-ma ilānu^{meš} im-taš-ku mił-ká i-na māṭāti^{meš}.ti
a-bu-ba iš-ku-nu i-na kí-ib-ra-ti

The translation is:

"When the gods took counsel in the lands,
And brought about a flood in the regions of the world."

The sixth line reads:

mat-ra-am-ḥa-sí-sum-me a-na-ku-[ma], "I am Atra-
ḥašis." ²⁴

As to the theme of the text, the essence of its content, one must categorize it as both a myth because gods play a dominant role, and an epic, because the leading character is a hero. Most basically Atra-ḥašis deals with the problem of organization. A certain dialectic goes on here, *viz.*, there is a conflict which goes through two phases. Both phases feature supernatural forces, but in the first "act" the conflict is among the gods for their own sakes and has to do with divine goals; the second phase concerns the conflict of the gods for the sake of man, *i. e.*, human organization enters the picture.

Tablet I

The story begins with a hearkening back to an earlier time. It almost has a "once upon a time" flavor. Certainly the plot is etiological from the outset. ²⁵ "How did man become as he is?" "Once it was like this," the modern storyteller might commence. Once the gods, those superhuman reflections of man's aspirations, worked and suffered as men do now. Quite understandably, since Mesopotamia has always depended upon man-made waterways to redistribute the capricious floodings, the gods are represented as digging the canals. This was at a time when only the gods inhabited the universe. The greater and lesser gods are mentioned in ll. 5-6. The seven great Anunnaki are mentioned. The term is used for all gods at times; at other periods the Anunnaki are the gods of the nether world. ²⁶ Three senior gods are mentioned individually. They are Anu, Enlil and Enki. In I:12 they evidently cast lots to determine their particular spheres of influence. Anu rules henceforth from heaven; Enlil evidently stayed on earth; Enki descended to his abode in the Apsū, a subterranean body of water. The Assyrian recension of the epic from I:19 ff. probably indicates that Enki set the Igigi (here, junior gods) to work on the canals. ²⁷ The Igigi suffered this humiliation for forty years and then rebelled, "backbiting, grumbling in the excavation" (I:39b-40). They agree to take their mutual grievance to Enlil. They want not just reduction of their workload, but complete relief from it. In typically anarchious fashion the junior gods set fire to their digging tools, and utilize them as torches to light their way to Enlil by night. They surround Enlil's temple, called Ekur, in the city of Nippur. ²⁸ Enlil's servants, Kalkal and Nusku, bring word to the god ²⁹ that he is surrounded. Lines 93 and 95 of this first tablet are a little unclear. Lambert believes some kind of proverbial usage of the word binu/bunu, "son" is employed. If this term were clear, it might be more readily apparent why Enlil does not hesitate to

summon Anu from heaven and Enki from the Apsū to stand with him against the rebels. It must be assumed that the gravity of the situation was reason enough for a coalition of the senior gods to deal with the matter. It is Anu in I:111 who seems to be the supreme leader. The question is put to the rebels, "Who is the instigator of battle?" (11. 128, 140). The answer comes: "Every single one of us. . ." (1. 146). When Enlil heard that the extent of the antagonism toward him in his realm, earth, was so great, he cried (I:167).

It is curious that Enlil seems to recover his composure so quickly and begins to command³⁰ Anu to go to heaven and bring down one god and have him put to death as a solution to the problem. Perhaps more might be known about the decision to slay a god, if it were not for the fact that right at this juncture (11. 178-89), the text is unclear, and the various recensions must be used to fill the gap. At any rate, when the text resumes, Bēlet-ilī is on hand.³¹ It is she who is summoned to to create³² the "Lullū-man."³³ Man now will bear the work burden of the gods. Bēlet-ilī is called Mami in I:193,³⁴ and then it would seem that she is also called Nintu.³⁵ Though she is the birth-goddess, she disavows any claim to being able to "make things."³⁶ She points to the skill of Enki in that realm. But in I:203 it becomes apparent that Enki must give her the clay so that she can create man.

Enki will make a purifying bath. One god will be killed; this is one called Wē-ila (I:223). He is not mentioned but this once in the text.³⁷ His flesh and blood, combined with Enki's clay will result in man. God and clay, therefore, are mixed to make man in the Babylonian conception. Line 215 is instructive: "Let there be a spirit from the god's flesh."³⁸ The plan to make a man is agreed upon by the Anunnaki, the plan is carried out, and the Igigi spit on the clay. Mami then rehearses before the gods in typically redundant, oriental fashion what she has done. The summum bonum of her work is this: the gods are free. Yet, strangely, the work is not complete, because more birth-goddesses, fourteen, are called in on the project and the group proceeds to the bīt šimti, "the house of destiny"³⁹ (I:249) to get at the work in earnest. So the creation of man is not too clear. Fourteen pieces of clay designated as seven males and seven females, are "nipped off," and separated by a "brick." (I:256, 259). Another break in the story occurs here. Then there are some rules for midwifery in the Assyrian recension that fills the gap. Ten months is the time necessary before the mortals are born. Finally they are born and the text relates some rules about obstetrics and marriage, but it is not particularly clear until I:352.

At this point the significant statement is made, "Twelve hundred years had not yet passed."⁴⁰ This sentence begins the second part in

the plot, if one views its story content apart from the tablet divisions. This much time, twelve hundred years, is given as the span of time from man's creation to the Flood. During this period people multiplied and their noise became intolerable to Enlil, who becomes dissatisfied with the noise because he cannot sleep. ". . . Let there be plague," reads the last part of I:360. Enlil has decided to reduce the noise by reducing the source, man. Namtara, the plague god, is summoned (I:380), but first, the reader is startled by the abrupt introduction of Atra-hasīs, the king (I:364). Perhaps he has been mentioned in some lost portion earlier. He must be a king because his personal god was Enki himself. Usually a Babylonian's personal god was a very minor deity. This is seen in much of the wisdom literature and prayers.⁴¹ Enki is one of the chief gods; Atra-hasīs must be a king. Atra-hasīs petitions Enki to intervene and stop the plague. Enki advises the people to direct their attentions to Namtara, so that he will relax the plague. This is what then ensues as Tablet I closes with the statement repeated, "Twelve hundred years had not yet passed."⁴²

Tablet II

The sequence that ended Tablet I is now paralleled. Enki lost his sleep again, and decides to use drought/famine to eradicate men. Adad the storm god⁴³ should withhold his rain (II:11); waters should not arise from the abyss. Again Atra-hasīs entreated Enki and at length Adad watered the earth, Lambert says, "discreetly . . . without attracting Enlil's attention."⁴⁴

From this point on in the epic the gaps frequently hide the story development. Evidently Enlil slept again but was roused by a third visitation of noise. By now Enlil must realize that some god is thwarting his extermination plans. Enlil resumes the drought. In column 3, ⁴⁵ Atra-hasīs is praying to Enki. By column 4 the famine is still in progress. Enki acts in the behalf of Atra-hasīs in column 5. A late Babylonian piece inserted here tells of a cosmic sea that existed in the bottom of the universe.⁴⁶ From this area, fish were caught up in a type of whirlwind, and the second drought perpetrated by Enlil was averted by the sending of these fish among starving mankind. Enlil by now is tired of seeing his plans frustrated. Enki has been his adversary, he surmises. Since water (and fish) was used to save humanity this last time, water will be man's destruction, and Enki is sworn to an oath not to interfere in Enlil's plan. It would seem at this juncture Lullū-awīlum, puny man, is doomed.

Tablet III

This last tablet contains the flood story itself. Lambert observes

that "the version known to George Smith from Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh Epic is in fact largely derived from the account in Atra-ḫasīs."⁴⁷

Fortunately, Ku-Aya's Old Babylonian text is the main source of the third tablet. Atra-ḫasīs is addressing Enki as it begins. It would seem that Enki, as is so typical of polytheistic morality, has already found a way to get around his oath to Enlil. III:1:18 begins Enki's message for avoiding the flood, and it has a familiar ring: "Wall, listen to me! Reed wall, observe my words!"⁴⁸ Atra-ḫasīs is told to destroy his house, undoubtedly made of reeds, and build a boat.⁴⁹ Reeds grow particularly in southern Mesopotamia, near the Persian Gulf. Perhaps the story originated in such an environment. Interesting nautical terms are employed in II, 29-37. Concerning the boat:

'Roof it over like the Apsū.
So that the sun⁵⁰ shall not see inside it
Let it be roofed over above and below.
The tackle should be very strong,
Let the pitch be tough, and so give(the boat) strength.
It will rain down upon you here
An abundance of birds, a profusion of fishes.'
He opened the water-clock and filled it;
He announced to him the coming of the flood⁵¹ for the
seventh night.

Atra-ḫasīs did as Enki commanded him. The reason for the flood is given "theologically" in the fact that the two gods of the earth and the deep are angry with one another. This sounds primitive indeed. Since Atra-ḫasīs is a devotee of Enki, he must side with him and no longer live in Enlil's earth.

Column 2 of the third tablet is badly broken. It would seem the boat is being built by such as a "carpenter" and a "reed worker."⁵² By line 32 of this column, clean and fat animals are mentioned as being put on the boat. And, then, in the lines remaining of the column, the most personal touch in the poem is given. Atra-ḫasīs must go to live with his own god. He calls for a banquet for his people and his family. Yet he cannot enjoy or even participate in this festivity because he is overcome with grief in contemplating the impending horror. At the banquet he was "in and out: he could not sit, could not crouch" (1. 45). His heart was broken instead and he was vomiting.

By now the weather worsened, Adad's thunders being heard in the clouds overhead. Pitch was brought to enable Atra-ḫasīs to close his door. The winds and the waves rose. He cut his restraining hawser and set his reed-boat adrift.

Lines are missing at the beginning of column 3 of tablet III. Restored by conjecture is the mention of the Zu bird in line 7. Zu is mentioned again in one of the recensions,⁵³ and is also found elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern mythology.⁵⁴ The strength of the flood came upon the peoples; its destruction was a nightmare. Enki took it badly from the outset. The birth-goddess Nintu⁵⁵ and the Anunnaki regret the disaster. Nintu bewails the loss of her children, who have become "like" flies.⁵⁶ She seems to have lost her purpose for existence. She rightly blames Enlil for such a lamentable act. Her crying is enunciated in III:4:5-11. The gods thirsted during the flood, as if they could no more subsist on salt water from the Apsū than could humans. Nintu wanted beer in fact in III:4:16. The gods stood like sheep standing together in a dry trough waiting for a drink.⁵⁷

Seven days and seven nights the deluge continued. As column 5 is missing its first 29 lines, the flood itself is over at III:5:30. Atra-hasis is "providing food" (line 32), and as the gods smell the food, "they gathered like flies over the offering." This last statement is hardly very flattering to the gods, and most typical of the skepticism of the wisdom genre in Babylonian literature. After the god's repast, Nintu arises and complains concerning the unknown whereabouts of both Anu and Enlil. Since they are the instigators of this terrible calamity, where are they? The question is not immediately answered. Instead an etiological explanation is given on flies, telling of the manufactured flies in the jewelry of lapis worn around the necks of Mesopotamian deities. The reason for this episode is given by Lambert:

Thus the flies in the story are a memorial of the drowned offspring of Bēlet-ilī, and the idea may have been suggested to its originator by a proverb or cliché about dragon-flies drifting down the river.⁵⁹

Enlil, who now has appeared, sees the reed boat and becomes angry at the Igigi. After all, the gods had decided to exterminate man; all the gods were under oath. How did man survive? Enlil wants to know. Anu points out that only Enki, whose realm is the sea, could save man. Enki steps forward and freely admits his deeds and evidently seeks to be exonerated (in a badly damaged passage). Volume 7 is of no help in the flood story; its chief concern is proverbial sayings on childbearing. Column 8 begins at the ninth line: this is the epilogue. The text is so problematic that it is not certain who is speaking in III:8:9-18. Lambert thinks the mother goddess is a leading candidate. In line 15 the whole epic is perhaps called annīam zamara, "this song."⁶⁰ Perhaps the song was recited in some way in Babylonian religious worship.⁶¹ Thus ends the last tablet.

RELATION TO GILGAMESH XI

Still foremost in size and state of preservation among Akkadian epic selections are the twelve tablets (containing over 3,000 lines) of the Epic of Gilgamesh.⁶² The eleventh tablet here deals with the Flood.

Gilgamesh meets the figure who is synonymous with Atrahasis of the recent epic, Utnapishtim.⁶³ The latter is called "the Faraway"⁶⁴ or "the Distant"⁶⁵ because he dwells removed from others, he is immortal. Gilgamesh had thought in Utnapishtim he would find one prepared for battle,⁶⁶ but he lies indolent upon his back (line 6). Gilgamesh has long sought immortality and he asks the serene Utnapishtim how he attained the blessed state.

Utnapishtim will tell Gilgamesh a secret which begins in Shuruppak,⁶⁷ the city where the gods lived. There the hearts of the gods led them to produce the flood.⁶⁸ The gods present are the same as those in Atrahasis, among whom are Anu, who is called abāšunu, "their father,"⁶⁹ and Enlil, who is denominated malikšunu, "their counselor."⁷⁰ Ninigiku-Ea is present. This name is simply another appellative of Enki the god of wisdom who dwells in the Apsū.⁷¹ As in Atrahasis, Enki/Ea speaks to the house of reeds, Utnapishtim's home:

Reed-hut, reed-hut! Wall, wall!
 Reed-hut, hearken! Wall, reflect!
 Man of Shuruppak, son of Ubar-tutu,
 Tear down (this) house, build a ship!⁷²

Thus in both epics the command to build a boat in order to escape the flood is similar. The seed of all living creatures is called to go up into the ship. Dimensions are not given for the ship in Atrahasis; however, Gilgamesh mentions that the ship should be accurately measured,⁷³ and that the width and length of the boat are to be equal, or square. Finally, the boat should be covered, ceiled over like the Apsū, i. e., impenetrable.

Like Atrahasis, Utnapishtim pledges to carry out Enki's orders. He must sever his tie with Enlil's terrestrial economy and go to his own god, Enki.

There is a large break in the left margin of the tablet that extends from about line 41 to the center at about 45, and then proceeds to the center of 55 and angles back to reveal the first sign of 53.⁷⁴ A lesser break at the right side extends over lines 48-53.

Children brought pitch for Utnapishtim's boat. The "strong"⁷⁵

or the "grown ones"⁷⁶ brought all else needful. The floor space of the boat is said to be about 3,600 square meters,⁷⁷ or approximately an acre. The walls were 120 cubits high, the decks were 120 cubits on a side. The boat had six decks. Speiser conjectures that the ship took seven days to build from his restoration of line 76.⁷⁸

Utnapishtim's family, the beasts of the field, and all the craftsmen were made to go on board the ship. This is a greater number than Atra-ḥašis. The rain that is coming is called by Speiser "a rain of blight." It was Enki's water-clock that was set for Atra-ḥašis. Here it is Shamash,⁷⁹ the sun god, who sets the time of the flood.

Adad's thunders signal the approaching deluge. Nergal, god of the underworld,⁸⁰ tears out the posts of the world dam, letting the waters loose. There must be a connection between Atra-ḥašis III:3:9-10 and Gilgameš XI:107, where in both cases it is stated that the land was shattered like a pot.⁸¹ This must have reference to a cataclysmic force, something of diastrophism. Countless other examples could be given of this kind of parallelism between the two epics. Cataclysmic language is repeated in Speiser's rendition of line 109, "submerging the mountains."⁸²

The gods cowered during the storm in typically mortal fashion. Ishtar⁸³ seems to take the role of the Mami/Bēlet-ilī/Nintu birth-goddess in Gilgameš. It is she that laments the sad state of things and blames herself.

On the seventh day the flood ceased. All of mankind had returned to clay. The ship comes to rest on Mt. Nišir.⁸⁴ Utnapishtim sends forth first a dove, then a swallow and lastly a raven, which does not return to the ship. Thereupon he lets out all his "passengers" to the four winds,⁸⁵ and offers a sacrifice. The gods, smelling the aroma as in Atra-ḥašis, "crowded like flies about the sacrificer."⁸⁶ Ishtar and the jewels are brought into the context here too, with the idea that the jewels are a memorial remembering the flood. Enlil is excluded because he perpetrated the crime.

Utnapishtim is specifically called Atra-ḥašis, "the exceedingly wise," in line 187. Enlil seems to abate some of his anger and by 11. 193-4, he pronounces a blessing upon the Babylonian Noah and his wife:

"Hitherto Utnapishtim has been but a man;
But now Utnapishtim and his wife shall be like unto us
gods."⁸⁷

Thus the close similarities can be seen between Atra-ḥasīs and Gilgameš XI. As has been said Atra-ḥasīs is the older of the two, its copy dating from the Old Babylonian with an archetype perhaps as early as ca. 1800 B. C. Both compositions are part myth and part epic. Both show the marks of wisdom literature in their themes of introspection. It must be remembered both heroes are "wise men." Simply because it is longer and better preserved at key points of flood-story interest, Gilgameš remains the more detailed document on the flood.

RELATION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

In Genesis 6:5-9:19 the author of the Book of Genesis, Moses, writes concerning God's judgment of the world by a flood. Immediately one is struck by the solemnity of the story: וַיַּרְא יְהוָה, "the

Lord/Jehovah saw" the wickedness of man. There is no pantheon of gods conniving against one another. There is no "noise" prompting the destruction by the flood. The God of Heaven is hardly dismayed over all the noise men may make. The problem here in Genesis is not organization or the lack of it, the problem is that "every imagination of the thoughts" of man "was only evil continually" (Gen. 6:5). Such a world wide problem as moral corruption is so vastly more realistic than noise.

In 6:14 God tells Noah to build a תֵּבָה, "an ark."⁸⁸ The ark will be of sturdier construction than mere reeds: it will be of עֵץ גִּפְרִי, "gopher wood." The ark will be covered with כֹּפֶת,

"pitch."⁸⁹ The dimensions of Noah's ark are superior as well. It is not square but more boatshaped. All three accounts speak of the boat, the pitch and the door. God promises deliverance to Noah in 6:17; Enki indicates that Atra-ḥasīs will "save life," if he escapes as planned.⁹⁰

Only in the Biblical account is the number of animals to be brought into the ark realistic. The tablet is marred in Atra-ḥasīs III:3:32 ff., but indiscriminate numbers of birds (?), cattle (?) and other wild creatures (?), plus Atra-ḥasīs' family, go on board.⁹¹ The "clean beast" of Genesis 7:2 may be reflected in the elluti of III:2:32.⁹²

The duration of the actual rain is more realistic also. Forty days and nights are cataclysmic duration on a world-wide scale. Six or seven days is far less believable. The flood of Genesis lasted 371 days.⁹³ With the words of Genesis 7:11, וַיָּבֶקְעוּ מַעְיְנֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם,

וַיִּפְּחֻ אֶת הַמָּוֶל, the action and extent

of the flood are clear. The niphal verbs here show that these natural

forces were acted upon by an outside Agent, God. One might assume that Enki's Apsū erupted adding to the waters, but the only clear statements have to do with Adad's roaring in the clouds, e. g., in III:2:49, 53 of Atra-ḥasīs.

The closing of the boat's door is treated variously. Genesis 7:16 states simply, וַיִּסְגֹּר יְהוָה בַּדֶּלֶת. What obliging soul

brought the kupru ("pitch") for Atra-ḥasīs to close his door?⁹⁴ Then that one was swept away in the flood?

Very little is said about the amount and the subsequent assuaging of the waters. Even if this is the case, it is a little difficult to see how one could say of Gilgamesh XI that it portrays a local flood, since the mountains were submerged. That claim is better supported with respect to Atra-ḥasīs, but chiefly from silence, because the latter does not give any real clue as to the extent of the flood.

The destruction of man and beast is deemed complete, however. This would imply a universal catastrophe for both Atra-ḥasīs and Gilgamesh. All flesh died; the waters had to seek out all, in effect. Genesis 7:21-23 is most plain on this point.

Atra-ḥasīs III:5:30 may have a reference to the sending of some kind of bird to find dry land.⁹⁵ Gilgamesh clearly indicates a dove, swallow and raven, while Genesis employs a raven and a dove.

Atra-ḥasīs does not give the place of the ark's landing. Mt. Nišir should be identified with Pir Omar Gudrun in Kurdistan, according to Speiser.⁹⁶ Ararat (אַרְרָאֲרַ) has generally been thought to

coincide with the mountain of that name in what was ancient Urartu, the region of Lake Van.⁹⁷

The altar that Noah built is "paralleled" in the Babylonian epics, as has been shown. The words וַיִּסְגֹּר יְהוָה בַּדֶּלֶת

"and the Lord smelled the sweet savor" (Gen. 8:21), have their grossly polytheistic analogy in both Atra-ḥasīs and Gilgamesh. Leupold has said that God "viewed the sentiments behind the sacrifice with satisfaction."⁹⁸

If there is a blessing on Atra-ḥasīs at the end of his epic, it is missing. III:7 is about childbirth and seems as if it has no real connection with the rest of the poem. Utnapishtim obtains immortality and goes to live somewhere in the West. Noah receives a promise from God that He will not judge the earth by water again. The Covenant is


given to Noah; there is no Babylonian counterpart to the covenant.

CONCLUSION

After languishing in museum collections for nearly a century, the Epic of Atra-ḥašīs has at last been presented to the scholarly world in a more readable form. The process is as yet incomplete. It is hoped that more fragments may be added to the missing sections of Tablet III. Such a discovery would enhance Flood studies even more. It must be admitted at this point that Gilgameš XI is still the chief extra-biblical document on the Flood from the standpoint of completeness and parallels. Gilgameš is a dynamic composition; its story is quite captivating. All of its twelve tablets constitute a marvel of ancient literature, surpassed only by Scripture itself. Atra-ḥašīs, on the other hand, is somewhat colorless by comparison. Lambert has forewarned his readers on this account: "a modern reader must not expect to find our translation immediately appealing or fully intelligible."⁹⁹ The greatest appeal in Atra-ḥašīs must be, in the final analysis, for the philologist. The present author has only given a taste of the rich mine of comparative linguistic material in the epic. As to content, it may be reiterated with previous generations of academicians, all accounts -- Atra-ḥašīs, Gilgameš XI (including the Sumerian flood story of Ziusudra, purposely not touched upon here) and the Genesis Flood -- go back to an actual, historical occurrence of a world-wide flood catastrophe. The inspiration of the Holy Spirit has preserved the Biblical account without any mythology, polytheism or low moral concepts, and its very text has been supernaturally preserved as well.

DOCUMENTATION




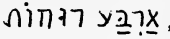













1. E. A. Speiser, trans., "Atrahasis" (in Ancient Near Eastern Texts, James B. Pritchard, ed. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 104-6.
2. W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, Atra-ḥašīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, pp. 42-105. Recent periodical discussions by these co-authors include: Lambert, "New Light on the Babylonian Flood," Journal of Semitic Studies, 5/2:113-23, April, 1960; and Millard, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," Tyndale Bulletin, 18:3-18, 1967.
3. Lambert, Atra-ḥašīs, pp. 134-7.
4. E. g., cf. Samuel Noah Kramer, The Sumerians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 3-32.
5. Work continues on the smaller mound until very recently, cf. Geoffrey Turner, "Tell Nebi Yūnus: The Ekal Māšarti of Nineveh," Iraq, 32/1:68 (and especially pl. XV), Spring, 1970.

6. Layard's works are well known. Some of them include: Nineveh and its Remains (new edition; 2 vols. in 1. New York: George P. Putnam, 1852); also A Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh (abridged; New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1852).
7. Layard's remarks on his second expedition are interesting, cf. his Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon (New York: G. P. Putnam and Company, 1853), pp. 67ff.
8. Lambert, Atra-hašis, p. 2
9. George Smith, Assyrian Discoveries (3rd edition. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company, 1876), pp. 2-3.
10. Ibid., p. 4.
11. Lambert, Atra-hašis, p. 3.
12. Ibid.
13. Dates are according to the "middle chronology" on Hammurapi, as presented by J. A. Brinkman in A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 335-52.
14. Theophilus G. Pinches, The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1902), p. 117. This fragment is from Scheil and has come to be denominated "W" in Lambert, cf. the latter's p. 129.
15. As early as 1902, i. e., at the time of Pinches' first edition of his work quoted immediately above, Pinches is willing to say, p. 117: "It is not improbable that the fragment published by the Rev. V. Scheil, O. P., belongs to this legend. . . ." Pinches does not seem as convinced as Lambert implies he was.
16. Lambert, Atra-hašis, pp. 4-5.
17. Ibid., p. 5.
18. Ibid., pp. 32, 42.
19. Ibid., p. 31, n. 1; cf. also René Labat, Manuel d'Épigraphie Akkadienne (quatrième édition; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963), pp. 210-11.
20. The sign is  in Old Babylonian, and is found in phrases such as ina kaspi (KU. BABBAR)-šū, "in his silver," cf. E. Bergmann, Codex Hammurabi: Textus Primigenius (editio tertia; Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1953), p. 8 (Law 35, line 3, of the Code).
21. I.8' in the edict reads, in part, kū.babbar^{am}, "and silver," F. R. Kraus, Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-saduqa von Babylon. Studia et Documenta ad iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia, Vol. V (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 18. Incidentally, Clay has another version of the name of the scribe in the colophon: Azag-

- dAya, cf. Albert T. Clay, A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform and Other Epic Fragments in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Yale Oriental Series, Researches, Vol. V-3. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), p. 61.
22. Cf. Brinkman in Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 337.
 23. Lambert, Atra-ḥasis, p. 131.
 24. Ibid., pp. 132-3.
 25. The "etioloical motif" was first popularized by Gunkel and is still a topic of current discussion, cf. F. Golka, "Zur Erforschung der Ätiologien in Alten Testament," Vetus Testamentum, 20/1:90, January, 1970.
 26. Giorgio Buccellati, "Religions of the Ancient Near East" (unpublished lecture notes, University of California, Los Angeles, California), April 16, 1970.
 27. Lambert, Atra-ḥasis, pp. 42-3.
 28. The word Ē. KUR may be subdivided: Ē is "temple" and KUR is "mountain," in Sumerian/Akkadian. Thus the Ekur in Nippur was the "mountain temple," Enlil's ziggurat; cf. Buccellati, "Religions," April 28, 1970.
 29. Nusku calls Enlil Bēlī, "my lord." This name has had a wide distribution in Semitic languages and is seen in the West Semitic 𐤁𐤍𐤋, "to marry, rule over;" 𐤁𐤍𐤋, "owner, lord," and the many compound names using this epithet, Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, eds., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 127-8 (Hereafter BDB).
 30. The word liqī is an imperative from leqū in I:171.
 31. The name indicates "Mistress/Lady of the gods." By l. 247 Mami has undergone what Moran terms "a change of status" to bē-let kala ilī, "Mistress of all the gods," William L. Moran, "The Creation of Man in Atra-ḥasis I 192-248," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 200:48-9, December 1970.
 32. The term libnīma is from banū, final weak, analogous to the Hebrew בָּנָה "to build."
 33. Lullū is to be taken here as lullū-awilum, "mankind," Lambert, Atra-ḥasis, pp. 175, 187.
 34. The usual word for "mother" in Babylonian is ummu, R. Borger, Babylonische-assyrische Lesestücke (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1963), p. LXXXVI.
 35. Nintu is but one of the many names of the mother-goddess. The name means "queen who gives birth," according to Kramer, Sumerian Mythology: A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B. C. (revised edition; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 41.

36. I:200, Lambert, Atra-ḥašis, pp. 56-7.
37. Ibid., p. 153, n. 223
38. The word for "spirit" is eṭemmu, "ghost," Ibid., p. 177. There is, of course, no analogy to the Holy Spirit.
39. Šimtu is a word normally translated "fate" or destiny, " Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 201. These renderings are misleading, though, because the Akkadian word means much more than the connotation in English. "Destinies" can be conceived concretely, they can be written down, hence a "table of destinies." The power of the gods is not inherent in Babylonian thought, but is in a god's power to hold onto the destinies, cf. Buccellati, "Religions," April 21, 1970.
40. The text reads "600.600 mu.ḫi.a." Lambert, Atra-ḥašis, p. 66. "To acquire a god" was to experience unexpected good fortune. Jacobsen says: "In Sumerian religion the power whose presence was felt in such experiences was given form from the situation and was envisaged as a benevolent father or mother figure concerned with the individual in question and bent on furthering his fortunes," Thorkild Jacobsen, "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion" (in The Bible and the Ancient Near East, G. Ernest Wright, editor. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), p. 270.
42. Lambert, Atra-ḥašis, p. 71.
43. Like Baal in his actions, his name appears in many personal names, e. g., dŠamši-dAddu, Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, cf. Georges Dossin, Correspondance de Šamši - Addu. Archives Royales de Mari, I (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950), p. 34 (ARM I:7:3).
44. Lambert, Atra-ḥašis, p. 10.
45. The frequent breaks in the text have caused Lambert to number Tablet II differently.
46. The Babylonians believed everything floated (?) in a heavenly ocean, Buccellati, "Religions," April 9, 1970.
47. Lambert, Atra-ḥašis, p. 11, cf. George Smith, The Chaldean Account of Genesis (4th edition; London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876).
48. For the relevant lines, cf. Gilgameš XI:21-2 in E. A. Speiser, trans., "The Epic of Gilgamesh" (in Ancient Near Eastern Texts, James B. Pritchard, ed. 2nd edition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 93.
49. Again, the words "build a boat," binī eleppa show that in "to build" a boat and "to create" a man, banū/𒁺𒍪 is used synonymously. It is interesting to note that in Genesis 2:22, 𐤁𐤏𐤃, from 𒁺𒍪, is used in the creation of Eve.

50. Actually ^dŠamaš, the sun god, is indicated.
51. Abūbu is "flood" in Babylonian, from ✓'bb, or ebēbu, "to purify, clean," Borger, Lesestücke, p. LIII.
52. Lambert, Atra-ḫašis, p. 160.
53. Ibid., pp. 125, 167n.
54. Cf. Speiser, "The Myth of Zu" (in Ancient Near Eastern Texts, James B. Pritchard, editor. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 111 ff.
55. Nintu has feverish lips, a disease, Lambert, Atra-ḫašis, p. 161.
56. The word zubbū is "fly" in Atra-ḫašis. In the Ugaritic literature il.dbb is used, where it probably means "Lord of the Fly," Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), p. 388. The z~d is phonemically assured. II Kings 1:3 and Matt. 12:24 are later instances of this phenomenon of the king of demons.
57. Lambert, Atra-ḫašis, p. 163.
58. Ibid., Gilgameš XI:167-9 accuses Enlil alone.
59. Ibid., p. 164.
60. BDB, p. 274. Hebrew equivalents are: הַנִּיחַ and נִיחַ, "song, melody."
61. Lambert, Atra-ḫašis, p. 165.
62. Cf. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 255.
63. Cf. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 88, n. 143, and also cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List. Assyriological Studies, No. 11 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 76-7, n. 34. Ubar-Tutu the father (?) of Utnapishtim is recorded in the king list, but Ziusudra, Utnapishtim's Sumerian name, is missing.
64. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," pp. 92 ff.
65. Alexander Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels (2nd edition; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 80.
66. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 93.
67. Cf. Borger, Lesestücke, III, Tafel 60, line 11. It must be due to scribal error that this reading is uru^uSu-ri-pak when it should be uru^uSu-ru-pak.
68. Ibid., line 14: there is 𒀭 𒄀 𒂊, a-bu-bi, "flood."
69. Ibid., II, 94.
70. Ibid., Mlk designates "king" in Hebrew, but the idea inherent is "counselor" in Akkadian. Certainly the two are closely aligned.
71. Henri Frankfort, et al., Before Philosophy (reprinted: Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 267.
72. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 93.
73. Translation by Heidel, Gilgamesh, p. 81, l. 29.
74. Borger, Lesestücke, III, Tafel 61.
75. Heidel, Gilgamesh, p. 82.
76. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 93.

77. Heidel, Gilgamesh, p. 82
78. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 94.
79. It is an easy matter to trace, Utu of the Sumerians through Samaš of the Akkadians to , the word for "sun" in the Old Testament.
80. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 94, n. 205.
81. Ibid.; cf. Lambert, Atra-hasīs, p. 93
82. There is a broken sign () . This could be restored to , KUR, Sumerian; šadū, Akkadian, "mountain which is what Speiser is supposing.
83. The Sumerian Inanna.
84. Vide infra.
85. Instead of anything analogous to , "four winds," in Hebrew, the text here has the numerical     , (4.IM. MES), 4 šārī, "four winds," Borger, Lesestücke, I, LXXXI; II, 99; III, Tafel 65.
86. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 95.
87. Heidel, Gilgamesh, p. 88.
88. John Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis (in The International Critical Commentary, S. R. Driver, et.al., eds. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1930), p. 160 ; and G. J. Spurrell, Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis (2nd edition, revised; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896), p. 76, think that this is possibly an Egyptian loanword, perhaps teb(t), "chest, sarcophagus." It is interesting that the Egyptian word for "box" is written   . The first sign,  , stands for a reed shelter in the field, the  is the sign for water, and the last is a determinative for any kind of box or coffin. The resultant word is hn^d. If, however, the word is db³.t in Egyptian, as Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), p. 1017, say, then Gardiner lists in his grammar db³w, "floats," under     , the first sign of which indicates "reed floats used in fishing and hunting the hippopotamus," Alan Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (3rd ed., revised; London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 514, cf. also A. S. Yaduda, The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), I, 15*.
89. BDB, p. 498. The equivalent is given in Atra-hasīs, III:1:33, kupru= .
90. Lambert, Atra-hasīs, pp. 88-9.

91. Ibid., pp. 92-3.
92. Ibid., p. 178; the verb elēlu, "be pure," has as its noun ellu, "pure."
93. John C. Whitcomb, Jr., and Henry M. Morris, The Genesis Flood (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1962), p. 3.
94. Lambert, Atra-ḥasīs, pp. 92-3. The words are [k]u-up-ru ba-bi-il. The verb is from abālu, "to carry," The form babil does not look passive, but it is well-attested that from Old Akkadian on by-forms with an initial b are passive, Ignace J. Gelb, et al., The Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964), vol. I, pt. I, pp. 10, 28-9. "Pitch was brought" is the correct translation.
95. Lambert, Atra-ḥasīs, p. 98; the words ana šārī, "to the winds," are all that is left.
96. Speiser, "Gilgamesh," p. 94, n. 212.
97. Cf. the Assyrian Empire map in the unnumbered back pp. of Georges Roux, Ancient Iraq (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books, 1966). The present writer has long wondered what connection is possible between the biblical Mt. Ararat and the "city state of Aratta, probably situated somewhere in the region of the Caspian Sea," Kramer, The Sumerians, p. 42. Urartu itself had a long history and appears, e. g., in Sargon's eighth campaign in the late eighth century, B. C., cf. François Thureau-Dangin, Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon. Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre, III (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1912), 1. 61; p. 12, pl. III.
98. H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Genesis (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950), I, 322. The Targum is careful to avoid such anthropomorphisms. Genesis 8:22 reads there:
 וַיִּקַּח יְהוָה אֶת-הַבְּרִיָּה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים, "and the Lord received/accepted with pleasure his sacrifice/gift," cf. Marcus Jastrow, comp., A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: Pardes Publishing Company, 1950), II, 1309, 1486 and 1411, for the terms. קָבַל, the Pael here, is "he received"; אֶת־נֶפֶשׁ is "pleasure," and קָבַל, the term referred to in Mark 7:11, "Corban" (A. S. V.).
99. Lambert, Atra-ḥasīs, p. 6.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CAPHTORIM

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The problem of the ethnic derivation of peoples in the ancient Near East, not to mention the investigation of their inter-relationships, forms an extremely complex study.

The famous "Table of Nations" in Genesis chapter 10 has been called by W. F. Albright "an astonishingly accurate document." It supplies us with the first Biblical reference to a people of extraordinary interest, not only to the Hebrews, but to the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Canaanites as well. The problem raised by the question of the origin of this race has produced an avalanche of scholarly literature, none of which has advanced much beyond the classic, almost ironic, terseness of Deuteronomy 2:23: "The Caphtorim. . . came forth out of Caphtor." Where was Caphtor? Who were the Caphtorim? These are the fascinating questions which we shall proceed to investigate.

WHO WERE THE CAPHTORIM?

The question, "Who were the Caphtorim" is not quite as simple as one may gather by consulting the average atlas or ancient history text. The Bible nowhere specifically gives a location for the land of Caphtor, although it seems to be an island or coastland from the reference in Jeremiah 47:4. Likewise, the Philistines are said to have come from Caphtor, but beyond this the Bible gives very little information. Other languages in the Near East have provided words which are linguistically parallel to the Hebrew term Caphtor, as the Egyptian Keftiu, and the Akkadian Kaptara. These diverse literatures provide supplementary clues which are of great value in analyzing the problem.

The search for a homeland for these mysterious people has been expanded into the far corners of the ancient world, though it must be admitted, without conclusive results. The nature of the inquiry and its significance has been succinctly stated by H. R. Hall:

One of the most important inquiries in the ancient history of the Near East relates to the explanation, in the light of modern archaeological research, of the Egyptian records of connections. . . with certain seafaring tribes of the Mediterranean coasts, apparently Cyprus, the southern coast of Asia Minor, Crete, and the Aegean.¹

A great variety of views has emerged from the study of the sources. The translators of the LXX rendered "Caphtor" as "Cappadocia,"² while the Ptolemaic geographers noted Phoenicia³ as the locale of the dimly remembered Keftiu-land. This ancient confusion has persisted down to modern times. Young's Analytical Concordance seeks to place Caphtor in Egypt, claiming that the name is preserved in that of the old Egyptian city Coptus.⁴ The discovery of Egyptian tomb-paintings indicating Keftiu as a foreign land has effectively dealt a death-blow to this theory, but the problem of the alleged Hamitic origin of the Caphtorim (Gen. 10:14), and eventually of the Philistine, still remains.⁵

Only two theories have been seriously considered within the last hundred years due to the addition of archaeological science to the arsenal of critical scholarship.⁶ Perhaps the majority of Biblical and classical scholars today favor Crete as the site of Caphtor Keftiu, following Sir Arthur Evans' identification, made in 1900. This idea has been strengthened by subsequent spectacular discoveries on the island, especially at Knossos. It must be admitted, however, that the discoveries from Crete fall short of proof for the identification. On the other hand, they do provide material that links Crete in some way with important Egyptian evidence for the location of Keftiu.

The alternative view, which has drawn much recent attention, has as its foremost proponent G. A. Wainright. He cites an impressive list of scholars who have supported the idea of an Asiatic Keftiu, which he places in Cilicia Tracheia. Between 1892 and 1898, such notables as Steindorff, Mueller, and Von Bissing all contended that Keftiu was to be found in North Syria, Cyprus, or Cilicia.⁷

As long ago as 1857, however, Birch identified Keftiu with Biblical Caphtor, which he thought to be either Crete, or preferably, Cyprus. Brugsch supported Crete in the same year.⁸ And so the debate continues,

while the unhappy Caphtorim, like wandering ghosts, cannot be laid to rest because an abode has never been found for them.

SOURCES FOR THE INVESTIGATION

Numerous ancient sources supply information that may, if properly interpreted, enable us to trace the travels and discover the origins of the Caphtorim. One major problem, however, is the confusion which seems to be attached to the term Keftiu from its very inception around 2000 B. C. The Egyptian scribes, especially, reflect considerable uncertainty in referring to Keftiu. Nevertheless, a general picture emerges from the ancient references, the outlines of which can be traced into a fairly consistent picture.

Literary Evidence

Hebrew Literature--The Biblical evidence has been alluded to above. Its main contribution is to associate the Philistines with Caphtor. The Philistines, in turn, have been connected with the Purasati, or sea-peoples whom Ramesses III subdued (ca. 1200 B.C.). The "r" in the name is the Egyptian equivalent of the Semitic "l". Therefore Pursati, Pilishti, and Philistines are believed to be equivalent.⁹ But the deeper and more important question relates to the origin of the Philistines. These sea-peoples are thought to have derived from the Aegean area, but again certain strands of evidence point in the direction of Asia Minor. In essence, the problem boils down to this: If we knew where the Philistines originated, we should be able to find Caphtor. Conversely, if we could only locate Caphtor, we should be able to find where the Philistines originated. In consequence, we are arguing in a circle from the Biblical evidence alone.

It can be claimed equally well that the sea peoples came either from Crete or the coastlands of southern Asia Minor, if one bases his theory on the route of conquest followed by the invaders. They advanced southward down the Mediterranean coast of the Levant, ending in Egypt. The characteristic feather headdresses of the Philistines shown on the reliefs from Medinet Habu correspond to those included as signs on the Phaistos disk. The source of this style, however, is probably Anatolia, so definite proof is still lacking as to the actual homeland of the Philistines. The weight of scholarly opinion still favors Crete. This uncertainty also renders the evidence regarding the Philistines and their origin somewhat inconclusive as well.

There are other references which are often adduced as further evidence that Caphtor should be equated with Crete. David's bodyguard was formed of certain mercenary contingents called Cherethites and

Pelethites, commanded by Benaiah the son of Jehoiada (2 Sam. 8:18). The names may simply mean "executioners" and "swift ones" (both appropriate for their tasks), or as has been more probably supposed, they may be toponyms referring to the tribe of Cherethites (I Sam. 30:14) and inhabitants of the village of Beth-Pelet (Josh. 15:27). In any case, these were both located in Philistine territory. The LXX translates the name Cherethites as "Cretans" in both Ezekiel 25:16 and Zephaniah 2:5. The translators may have been guided only by the sound, but the deity Zeus Cretagenes in Gaza suggests a connection with the Island of Crete.¹⁰ Thus the tenuous, although perhaps correct, equation of Caphtor with Crete via the connection of Caphtorim--Philistines--Cherethites--Cretans.

Egyptian Literature--The Egyptian literary evidence apart from the funerary paintings is quite extensive. Keftiu is spelled various ways in the hieroglyphs, but the general rendering apart from minor variations is kftyw followed by the determinative for foreign lands.¹¹ Two significant variants, k3ftyw and kftw, appear in Dynasty 19 and may indicate the vocalization. It certainly approximates that of Caphtor.

The first mention of Keftiu occurs in the famous lamentation of Ipu-wer at the end of the Old Kingdom.

No one really sails north to Byblos today. What shall we do for cedar for our mummies? Priests were buried with their produce, and (nobles) were embalmed with the oil thereof as far away as Keftiu, (but) they come no (longer).¹²

This earliest reference to Keftiu seems to demand a place as far away as the ends of the earth, that is, to the limits of Egyptian knowledge. Crete fits this requirement better than any other place, and merits consideration in this regard above Cilicia, which can hardly have been construed as much farther than Byblos in the minds of the Egyptians.

The eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties furnish most of the literary texts mentioning Keftiu as a place-name. It is listed in company with other countries under Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Thutmose III, and Ramesses II.¹³ The countries are all equated with the region of Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria, Cyprus, and Cilicia, according to Wainright's thesis. The places themselves--Nahrin, Retenu, Qadesh, Tunip, Ikariti, Tikhshi, Sangar and Mennus--are all undeniably Asiatic, but it should be pointed out that the tomb paintings often relate Keftiu to the "Isles in the midst of the Great Green (sea)." Likewise, Thutmose III's Hymn of Victory¹⁴ mentions Keftiu and Asy (Cyprus) in the same line, which would be consistent either with a Cretan or Cilician

Keftiu, and would rule out neither interpretation.

The Annals of Thutmose III provide some valuable insights into the kinds of commerce which obtained between Egypt and Keftiu:

Behold all the harbors of his Majesty were supplied with every good thing of that which (his) Majesty received (in) D-'hy, consisting of Keftiyew ships, Byblos ships, and Sk-tw ships of cedar laden with poles, and masts, together with great trees for the (_____) of his Majesty.¹⁵

Of greater significance in this connection, however, is the account of Thutmose's 17th campaign, listing tribute brought from various areas:

(The tribute of the Chief) of Tinay (Ty-n'-y): a silver (s'-w'-b'ty) vessel of the work of Kf-tyw, together with vessels of iron¹⁶

Wainright points out that the tribute was obtained in Syria, and that silver is mined and worked in Cilicia.¹⁷ It seems plausible that the "work of Keftiu" here refers to the more famous and widely imitated Minoan style of craftsmanship.

Ramesses II claimed to have captured Keftiu along with other countries (mostly Asiatic), and Breasted admitted that this seems to place it in "Phoenicia or Coele-Syria."¹⁸ If the text is taken literally--a dangerous practice when dealing with the self-adulatory Egyptian inscriptions--and if it indeed refers to Coele-Syria, then it can only be explained as a homophonous place name, or possibly as a scribal error. However, the list also names Asy (Cyprus) and Kheta (Hittite lands). The great Pharaoh or his scribe could easily have included Keftiu in this vast boast, with as much substance to the claim, even if Keftiu be read as Crete.

Babylonian Literature--The Akkadian word Kaptara is the philological equivalent of Caphtor and Keftiu in the Hebrew and Egyptian languages. The earliest use of the term actually occurs in an inscription of Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2300 B. C.), which corresponds generally with its first appearance in Egypt toward the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁹ Crete's first era of greatness, the Old Palatial period, was begun subsequent to these early contacts. Foreign trade probably originated in Early Minoan II and reached its peak in the New Palatial period. Kaptara is also mentioned among the correspondence of the Mari tablets, but there is no attempt at precise localization. A distant place in the region of the Taurus mountains or beyond is implied in all the references occurring in Akkadian. One document found at Ugarit and dated to the

reign of Ramesses II²⁰ mentions a boat as coming from Kaptara, which causes us to look westward for the identification of this place as one of the major seafaring and trading nations of antiquity. Again, Crete or the Mycenaean world fit this description best.

Canaanite Literature--There is important evidence from an Ugaritic religious poem which places the chief seat of the craftsman god in Kaphtor and implies a considerable cultural indebtedness to Crete.²¹ Proof is lacking for Gordon's thesis that Ketet is somehow related to Crete.

In this epic,

. . . the messengers of the gods are sent (flying) over the sea by way of Byblos (Gebal) to fetch the god of handicrafts, Kothar Wa-khasis, from his throne in Kaphtor (Crete). He is brought to build a palace for Baal; but elsewhere he is concerned with fine metal-working, melting down precious metals to cast a dias of silver covered with gold and fashioning a throne, a couch, and a footstool. The compelling impression made by the volatile Minoan genius is evident throughout the eastern Mediterranean world. . . .²²

The entire passage seems to imply a place of great distance, because the gods, naturally enough, are always reported to have lived in mysterious, inaccessible places. The idea of the origin of craftsmanship appears to be applied here to kaphot; could there be a relationship between the Canaanite god of handicrafts, Kothar Wa-khasis, and the Greek Zeus Velchanos (Vulcan?) who was worshipped on Mount Dikte in eastern Crete? It is more than likely that this was the case. Certainly this is one of the more tantalizing clues to the location of Caphtor, although proof for the identification is lacking at present.

Hittite Literature--Apparently there exists no recognizable reference to Keftiu Kaptara in the Hittite or Louvian literature.²⁴ This strikes a blow at Wainright's theory, although it is admittedly an argument from silence. His explanation for the absence of the name in Hittite records points to the conclusion that, since the region was a coastland and, therefore, on the other side of the Taurus, it was "quite outside the purview of the Hittites."²⁵ The same journal, however, in reporting the Cilician survey, notes that no less than sixty-one Hittite sites of the Imperial period were located in Cilicia proper.²⁶ Can the Hittites have been ignorant of the existence of this coastland or of its name? It is possible that we possess in the extant material the Louvian or Hittite place-name corresponding to the Akkadian Kaptara, but if this is so, it has not been satisfactorily explained philologically. Reference is made in Hittite royal correspondence, however, to the land of Ahhiyawa,

which is generally agreed to refer to the Homeric Achaei or the Mycenaean. ²⁷

Supposed Keftian Language--The two documents from Egypt displaying some knowledge of the Keftian language (presumably Linear A if Keftiu is Crete) have been shown by Wainright and Astour to have North Syrian or Cilician connections. This may still be explicable as supporting the identity of Keftiu with Crete if one accepts the attractive hypothesis that Linear A and Louvian are related. The so-called "Keftian Spell" is an inscription invoking names of Cilician deities. ²⁸ It reads, "sntkppwymtrkr." This is translated by Wainright as follows: snt--Sandas; kpp--Kupapa; and trk--Tarku. The other elements are so far impossible to decipher, although numerous suggestions have been made. Personal names from Keftiu also occur in Egypt, dating from ca. 1500 B. C. They are listed as, "3šḥr, Nsy, 3kš, 3kšt, 3dn, Pnrt, Rs, Bnḡbr." According to Wainright. "A widespread search has revealed scarcely any names bearing any resemblance to those of Keftiu except in southern Asia Minor. There, on the contrary, we get a number which do seem to be comparable to them." ²⁹

Peet claims that a discovery of contemporary inscriptions indicating the locale of these names would show merely that the language was spoken in that area, but would not prove the identity of the land Keftiu itself. Wainright, of course, disagrees.

Linear B--These documents are unsuited to normal literary and historical analysis as they provide neither continuous texts (for the most part) nor official archival material. ³⁰ The vocabulary is limited as well, but the word for Crete (Ke-re-te) is admitted by some, as is the term for "Cretan workmanship" (Ke-re-si-jo we-ke), first recognized by Palmer. Whether or not there is any connection between these ethnic terms and an earlier syllabic spelling of Caphtor/Keftiu remains to be seen. It is an intriguing question which is, in essence, tied up with the decipherment of Linear A.

To summarize the literary evidence, particularly the Egyptian, we may refer to the work of Jean Vercoutter, L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique. This admirable synthesis has produced, according to William Stevenson Smith, "what seems to be overwhelming evidence for the identification of Keftiu. . . as Crete." ³¹

Modern scholars are not in a position to evaluate geographical designations from ancient times as precisely as may be desired. Neither can ethnic identity always be established by examining minute aspects of the physiognomy, religion, or cultural elements of ancient peoples. But rigid and exact philological texts can frequently be used to obtain

accurate information. Literary usage can often provide helpful data as well. Vercoutter's analysis of the term Keftiu shows its changing use by the Egyptians over a period of time, and helps to explain some of the problems attached to the name.

Two terms were used by the Egyptians for the Aegean region. These were the problematical Keftiu, and "The Islands in the midst of the Great Green." The following outline will show the historical interpretation suggested by Vercoutter.

1. Earliest use of the term Keftiu--This designation for groups of foreigners is found as early as the end of the Old Kingdom, and roughly at the same time Kaptara appears in an inscription of Sargon of Akkad. This fits in with the idea that the original contacts between Keftiu and Egypt occurred at the beginning of the heyday of Cretan civilization.

2. Introduction of a new term--The terms Keftiu and "Islands in the midst of the Great Green" are found in conjunction in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmire during the reign of Thutmose III. Historically, one may infer that the new term, "Islands in the midst of the Great Green" was designed to describe the Mycenaeans, who first came in touch with Egypt during the time of Thutmose III.

3. Latest use of the term Keftiu--Apparently the last use of the term Keftiu is found on a stone vessel in the tomb of Thutmose IV, placed in his tomb by his son Amenhotep III. This bit of evidence fits into the usually accepted chronological scheme regarding the destruction of Knossos, and would, by thus matching, help to explain why the term drops out of use.

4. Final period of use--Subsequent use of the term "Islands in the midst of the Great Green" coincides with the great expansion of Mycenaean trade indicated by the wide distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Egypt and the Levant.

A practical explanation for this phenomenon is suggested by Smith:

Both were perhaps first encountered by the Egyptians in Syrian harbors and to the Egyptians the Cretans and Mycenaeans, appeared so clearly related in culture that it was hard to distinguish one from the other. Gradually the Egyptians became conscious of a new, more distant element to which they applied a different geographical term.

Pictorial Evidence

The controversy between the two alternatives of a Cilician or a Cretan Keftiu has raged mainly over the important Egyptian tomb paintings and their interpretation, rather than the literary evidence. These form the chief factor in the argument of Evans and others linking Keftiu with Crete.

A bewildering variety of opinions have been voiced by scholars, and sharply different conclusions have been drawn, all based on the same evidence. Smith remarks, "The same pictures of these foreigners have been used to show that they came from Crete or from the mainland of Greece or from western Asia."³³ Miss Kantor concurs, asserting, "We may safely say that the Aegeans in Egyptian tombs cannot be differentiated into Minoans or mainlanders by their physical appearance or dress."³⁴

Nevertheless, there is general agreement that genuine Minoans do appear, at least in the tomb of Senmut, in spite of later divergence and confusion in detail from the other tombs. Two main issues spring from an examination of the tomb paintings: Can the term Keftiu be linked to a particular geographical area on the basis of these paintings; and to what extent can the minute details of the paintings be used as evidence?

It must be admitted that there is no evidence from the tombs to prove that the term Keftiu itself refers specifically and exclusively to Crete. The main argument in favor of this identification, as we have seen, is the historical coincidence of Egyptian contacts with Minoan civilization. We shall deal with the question of the accuracy of the pictorial evidence later, but it should be observed that certain valuable clues to the ethnic identity of the people depicted on the monuments is to be expected. "Such peculiar personal adornments and fashions of dressing the hair are, as all students of ethnology know, matters of tribal custom, and extremely important as criteria of race."³⁵

A survey of the tomb paintings and their significance is necessary in order to evaluate these factors.

1. Chapel of Senmut at Thebes--

The dress, hair style, and vessels depicted are all definitely Cretan. Wainwright claims that this tomb is the only one showing unmistakable Cretan garb.³⁶ Unfortunately, there is no inscription preserved. (Cf. Fig. 1 for a drawing of these famous emissaries.)

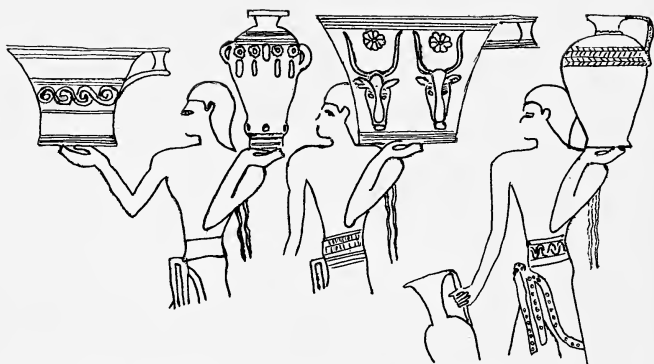


Fig. 1 Cretans depicted in a painting from the Chapel of Senmut at Thebes.

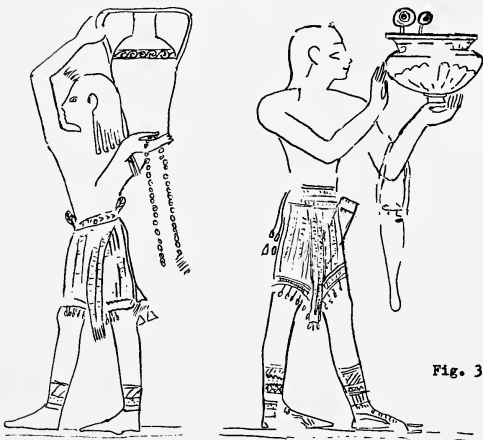


Fig. 3 Keftian, Chapel of Rekhmira (Theban tomb 100)

Fig. 2 Keftian, Chapel of Menkheperraseneb (Theban tomb 86)

II. Chapel of Menkheperraseneb (Theban tomb 86)--

This tomb is located in the cliff of Shekh Abdel-Kurna at Thebes. Breasted describes the scene as follows:

Two lines of Asiatics bring forward splendid and richly chased vessels of gold, silver, etc. The Asiatics are designated as "The chief of Keftiuew, the Chief of Keftiuew, the Chief of Kheta, the Chief of Tunip (tnpw), the Chief of Kadesh".³⁷

Hall, in referring to tomb 86, claims that the offerings are badly drawn but recognizable as Cretan. The Cretan coiffure is plain, but the kilts are "not specially Cretan in character."³⁸ On the other hand, Wainright and others are perhaps right when they point out that these figures, unlike those of Senmut's tomb, are not Cretans, rather, they are probably north Syrians or Cilicians. The vessels are undoubtedly Aegean, but may be Mycenaean instead of Minoan. The larger scene from tomb 86 includes a mixed group of bearded Asiatics with the "Keftiu" (Cilicians?). If Keftiu is indeed Crete, the possible explanations are:

1. The figures are wrongly labeled;
2. The figures are carelessly drawn;
3. The term Keftiu in this period was vaguely applied to a certain class of seafaring foreigners, and not used as a specific geographical place name. One of these figures is pictured in Fig. 2, cf. Fig. 4.

III. Tomb of Rekhmire (Tomb 100)--

These emissaries may be Minoan, but it is difficult to be sure. They could quite possibly be Mycenaeans. This is in accord with Ver-cutter's thesis that the term Keftiu was ambiguously used in the XVIII dynasty to mean either "Cretan" or "Mycenaean". But the sandals are seemingly Minoan, and the curls definitely so, according to Evans.³⁹ Traces of the distinctive sheath envelopes are also to be seen. (Fig. 3)

IV. Chapel of Huy at Amarna--

The foreigners pictured here are possibly Aegeans, but more likely are Anatolians or north Syrians to judge by their dress. The accompanying inscription notes that they come from "the islands in the midst of the Great Green."

V. Tomb of User-Amon--

The tomb of the Vizier User-Amon dates from the reign of Thutmose III. Pictured in this tomb are figures in coiffeur and kilt-styles similar to those in the tomb of Senmut. In addition, they wear the Lybian sheath and carry a bull's head rhyton among the offerings. (Fig. 5.)

The objects in the painting from User-Amon's tomb are definitely identified as Minoan by Evans. The "bull at full gallop" which is carried by one of the tributaries, is a Minoan theme, though not exclusively so, being found on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus as well as the Tiryns fresco. The sandals and putes are also of the Minoan type.

VI. Tomb of Puemra--

This chapel from the time of Hatshepsut shows a red-colored youth with Minoan wavy hair, but wearing a plain kilt. The fresco is imperfectly preserved.⁴⁰

VII. The Chapel of Onen--

A royal throne base from the chapel of Onen (brother to Queen Tiy) at Thebes, dating from the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1400 B. C.) yields a painted representation of a man in Anatolian dress. The accompanying inscription labels him as coming from Keftiu.⁴¹

If Keftiu is indeed Crete, this can only be explained as a mistake in labeling by the scribes, or ignorance of the true character of the Minoans on the part of the artist. It does serve to show, however, the very real confusion in the Egyptian sources regarding the term Keftiu. Cretan types, Hittite types, and north Syrian types are all alike labeled as from Keftiu or as being from the "midst of the Great Green".⁴² Strict interpretation of Menkheperassoneb's tomb, for example, would apply the epithet Keftiu to a definite Asiatic type, since the label is evidently placed mistakenly over the Asiatic rather than the Aegean figure. (Cf. Fig. 4.)

An interesting comparison is provided by observing the procession of tribute bearers from Rekhmire's tomb (Fig. 6) and restored fragments of the famous "procession fresco" from the palace of Minos. The apparent and striking similarities between the Egyptian paintings and Minoan civilization are concentrated in the hair style, kilts, sandals, and tribute vessels. But these likenesses may be more superficial than real, since the parallels are not exact, and have occasioned much controversy.



Fig. 4 Wall painting from Theban tomb 86 showing foreigners bringing tribute

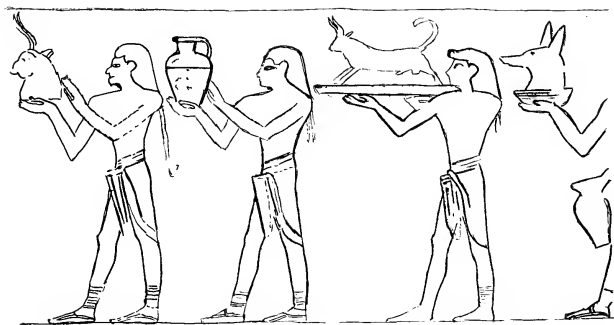


Fig. 5 Tributaries from Keftiu: Tomb of User-amon

It would seem dangerous to press the details in the paintings too far, as perhaps Wainright has done. He contends that the pattern of double volutes ending in spirals found on the kilt of one of the tribute-bearers in Menkheperasesenb's tomb are native to Cilicia Tracheia. This proves that the southern coastal region of Asia Minor is the correct place to look for the land of Keftiu, according to his view.⁴³

One cannot fault the methodology here (except, perhaps, for the appeal to designs in modern Turkish rugs as evidence) as much as the logic. It may be admitted that the figures could be wearing Anatolian garb, but the question of what the Egyptian scribes meant by using the term Keftiu should also be faced honestly. Wainright implies that the Egyptians always stayed strictly and consistently with one precise meaning for the term over a long period of time. Such an assumption would seem to be belied by the facts. It is the very nature of the problem of Caphtor that inconsistencies and contradictions abound, and we know that political, cultural, and commercial conditions changed greatly over the period from the end of the Old Kingdom to the XIX dynasty. Perhaps Wainright's analysis has depended too heavily upon the Egyptian evidence without proper regard for the Assyrian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew sources, and likewise has emphasized the graphic evidence without a corresponding balance of the literary.

An insistence upon slavish literalism in copying objects from life on the part of the artists is the chief logical pitfall which Wainright fails to avoid. Granted that those used to writing hieroglyphs must be exacting in terms of details, it is nevertheless plausible that the artists frequently applied familiar "space fillers," particularly where foreign motifs might be involved.

Disregard of the fundamental character of Egyptian pictures has led Wainright to fallacious conclusions in the opinion of Miss Kantor. She makes five significant observations in this regard:

1. Not all the representations are of equal value.
2. Even the best artists were not anthropologists.
3. Many sections of their work were filled with stock Egyptian motifs.
4. The degeneration of accuracy in depicting the Aegean emissaries indicates that successive copying of earlier tombs was the practice of the artists.
5. The kilt patterns are not from the actual garments, but from Egyptian representations of these garments.⁴⁴

Miss Kantor, as opposed to Wainright, sees primarily Mycenaean

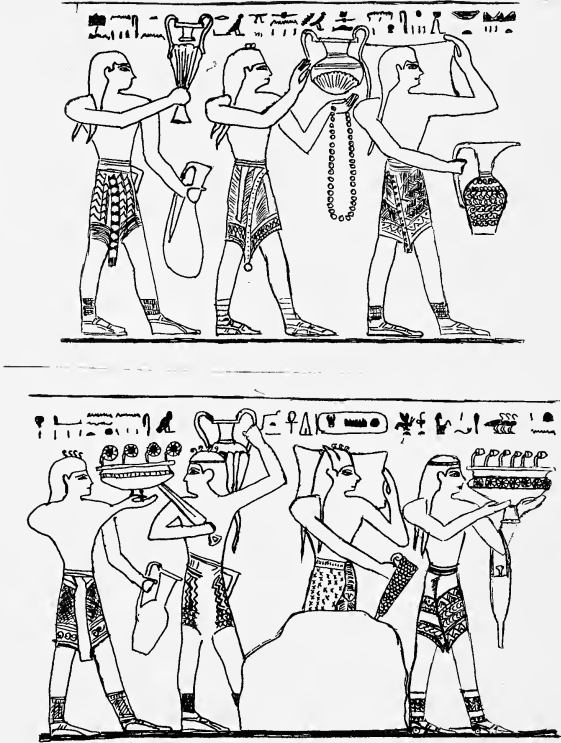


Fig. 6 Tribute bearers from Keftiu: Tomb of Rekhmira

influence upon Egypt reflected in the tomb paintings. She claims that the Minoans had some limited contact with Egypt, but they quickly lost their connections to the mainlanders. She points to the fact that pottery of the LB period in Egypt shows strong Aegean influence. "It is impossible to accept (Wainright's) conclusion that the Keftians were an Anatolian people. On the contrary, their Aegean character cannot be doubted."⁴⁵

H. R. Hall, who holds to the traditional identification of Minoan Crete with the Egyptian Keftiu, summarized the pictorial evidence by stating:

If the Keftians appear depicted by the Egyptians in costumes departing considerably from the Minoan fashion, and approaching that of the Syrian, this may be due either to the Cilician origin of these particular Keftians, or more simply to inaccuracy on the part of Egyptian artists.⁴⁶

In addition to the literary and pictorial evidence, we may now turn to the ceramic artifactual record.

Archaeological Evidence

Material from the excavations, particularly pottery, has a limited validity, since it can only test theories and affirm or deny the presence of certain peoples in a given area. The archaeological evidence pertaining to the problem of the Caphtorim attests definite interrelations between Crete and the eastern Mediterranean, notably from finds at Ugarit and Byblos.⁴⁷

The earliest of these contacts seems to have occurred in Middle Minoan I, since pottery characteristic of the Old Palatial period at Knossos and Phaestos has been found in levels XXI-XXV at Byblos (ca. 2100 B. C.).

Egypt also yields Minoan and Syrian painted pottery associated together from the XIIth dynasty side of Kahun.⁴⁸ This would provide additional evidence that the Cretans traveled to Egypt via the Syrian ports of call as is implied in the mixed cargoes listed in the inscriptions of Thutmose III.⁴⁹

Evans points out numerous Egyptian finds from Crete⁵⁰ as does Hutchinson.⁵¹ The actual connection of the Minoan culture with Egypt and Syria may be regarded, upon this evidence, as firmly established.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The basic and primary orientation of Caphtor is with the Aegean area. This is the inescapable conclusion to which the foregoing material evidence points. There are numerous historical facts supporting the association of Caphtor with Crete. These may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Ceramic and pictorial evidence established that there was definite and direct contact between Minoan Crete and Egypt.
2. Egyptian literary evidence also proves direct contact between Egypt and Keftiu, wherever it is located.
3. Aegean cultural elements are unmistakably associated with the term Keftiu on the Egyptian tomb paintings.
4. The use of the term Keftiu parallels closely the expansion and contraction of the Minoan cultural sphere.
5. The northern orientation of Keftiu from the Egyptian perspective corresponds with the known Minoan sea route.
6. The Bible connects Caphtor with the Philistines (who certainly came from the Aegean cultural continuum if not from Crete itself).
7. The Canaanite god of craftsmanship, whose throne was in Caphtor may correspond with the Cretan Zeus Velchanos (Vulcan?). If this is true, it provides conclusive proof that Caphtor was Crete.

A possible synthesis between the opposing views may be attempted. Evans admits that in "all cases the evidence associates the Minoans with the north Syrian peoples."⁵² He also points out that Mallus on the Cilician coast appears in a late inscription as a silver-producing district of the Keftian country. The men of Mallus are depicted with the red skin and flowing hair so characteristic of Minoan fashion. The name Mallus, moreover, may be connected with Cretan Mallia.⁵³

Evans was aware of Wainright's early criticisms of a Minoan Keftiu:

It may be a moot point whether or not the Minoans had some kind of commercial settlement in the neighborhood of Mallos or elsewhere on the Cilician coast, to which in a narrower geographical sense the name of Keftiu should apply. But the attempt to regard the Kefti people of the Egyptian wallpaintings and records as primarily of Cilician stock, will hardly now claim adherents.⁵⁴

In the same vein, Wainright conceded that his Cilician "Keftiu" possibly had Minoan colonists, but insists that it was not just a Minoan trading station.⁵⁵ Certainly the admission that Minoan elements existed in Cilicia is tantamount to saying that Keftiu and Crete were interrelated in the minds of the Egyptians--and in view of the vast cultural influence of Crete--it is almost the same as admitting that "Cretan" and "Keftian" were interchangeable in their vocabulary.

One generally overlooked piece of evidence may be adduced. The prevailing winds in the Eastern Mediterranean come from the north or northwest in good sailing weather, and it was likely just as easy, safer (because of the proximity to shore), and more profitable to travel east via Cilicia, Syria, and Phoenicia before journeying to Egypt. The Etesian winds would make the direct route to Egypt possible,⁵⁶ and the Cretans were not afraid of the voyage, because they apparently traded with such distant places as Macedonia, Lybia, Sardinia, Sicily, and possibly Spain, but it was not in their best commercial interest to travel directly to Egypt. The route generally followed by the Minoan and Mycenaean traders is described by Lionel Casson:

A trail of pottery fragments dug up by archaeologists marks the routes these traders followed. Their ships worked eastward to the west coast of Asia Minor, or southward to Crete from where they cut east by way of Rhodes and Cyprus to the cities along the Syrian coast. Here most unloaded and, letting the Phoenicians transship whatever was consigned to Egypt, picked up return cargoes that included whatever the Phoenicians had brought back from there. All papyrus, for example, was manufactured in Egypt, but so much of it came to Greece by way of the Syrian coast that the standard Greek word for the product was byblos, reflecting the name of the harbor at which most Greek traders must have taken on their cargoes of it.⁵⁷

If this were indeed the case, an accord with Wainright's hypothesis of an Asiatic Keftiu might be sought. For who could blame the Egyptians for vaguely locating Keftiu in the region where the goods were shipped from, namely the coast of Syria or Cilicia? Wace seems to agree when he says, ". . . the appearance of Minoan objects among the presents of the princes of the Keftiu and of the islands in the midst of the sea would not be surprising, if the Cretans used the longer coasting route by way of Asia Minor and Cyprus to Egypt besides adventuring directly across the Libyan Sea."⁵⁸

I submit that this is precisely what happened. The profitable north Syrian trade route and the favorable winds would have attracted the export-minded Minoans, and the very fact that Cretan culture was quickly adopted by other tribes of the Aegean, Anatolian, and Levantine areas guaranteed that the Egyptians would soon become confused. After all, the Egyptians were accustomed to classifying people not by where they hailed from, but primarily by what they looked like.

The geographical area, if it could be comprehended by the Egyptians, was a secondary consideration, and was often addled in the inscriptions. Despite the confusion, it appears that there is sufficient evidence to support the contention that Caphtor was Crete.

DOCUMENTATION

1. H. R. Hall, "The Keftians, Philistines, and other Peoples of the Levant" Chapter XII in the Cambridge Ancient History, J. B. Bury, et al eds. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1926), II, 275.
2. Charles Pfeiffer and Howard Vos, Wycliffe Historical Geography (Chicago: Moody Press, 1967), 442.
3. Hall, loc. cit.
4. Robert Young, Analytical Concordance to the Bible (New York: and Wagnall, n. d.), 142.
5. I propose to attempt a solution of this difficulty while still holding to the Aegean (or Anatolian) origin of the Philistines as follows:
 - A. Both Baumgartel and Evans note strong Lybian and Egyptian influences on Crete in the predynastic and protodynastic periods. A stone vase of protodynastic Egyptian make, among other things, was found on Crete. Mrs. Baumgartel conjectures that the trade route to Crete in prehistoric times may have gone overland to Lybia to the point nearest Crete, and thence by sea. This marked influence is thought by Evans to have occurred at about the time of Menes' conquest. The

negroid element can be seen in the Mesara at this time. Other items include Lybian plumes, side-locks, bow, shield, figurines, the penistache, etc. See Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos (London: Macmillan and Co., 1921-1935), II, 22-92; and Elise J. Baumgartel, The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), I, 44.

B. Homer's "native Cretans" or Eteo-Cretans (only one of the five ethnic strata on the island) may thus have been Hamitic in origin. Cf. Odyssey xix, 175 ff. Staphylos placed them in the south. See R. W. Hutchinson, Pre-historic Crete (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1965), 318. If this is true, Linear A may thus have primary Egyptian affinities.

C. A transposition has occurred in Gen. 10.14 and I Chron. 1:12, which represent the Philistines as having come forth from the Casluhim, contrary to what is expressly stated elsewhere in all the other Biblical references. The Philistines actually came from Caphtor, which has much earlier been colonized by a Hamitic race. Cf. Jer. 47:4 and Amos 9:7.

6. W. Ewing, "Caphtor" in The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, ed. James Orr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949), I, 568.
7. G. A. Wainright, "Asiatic Keftiu" American Journal of Archaeology 56:4 (October, 1952), 196-212.
8. Hall, loc. cit.
9. Ewing, loc. cit.
10. W. Ewing, "Cherethites" ISBE, I, 603.
11. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, Wörterbuch Der Aegyptischen Sprache (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), V, 122.
12. John A. Wilson, "The Admonitions of Ipu-wer" Ancient Near Eastern Texts ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 441.
13. Wainright, loc. cit.
14. James H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906), II, 264-65.
15. Ibid., II, 206 Sk-tw is an unknown place name; the lacunae refers to some wood construction.
16. Ibid., II, 217.
17. Wainright, loc. cit.
18. Breasted, ARE, III, 162.
19. William Stevenson Smith, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 91.
20. Idem.
21. H. L. Ginsberg, "Poems about Baal and Anath" ANET, 132-34, 138.

22. Smith, op. cit., 46.
23. R. W. Hutchinson, Prehistoric Crete (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1962), 200-203.
24. John Garstang and O.R. Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1959). For related material see also: Albrecht Goetze, Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography. Yale Oriental Series XXII (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). Cf. Johannes Friedrich, Heithitisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1952); and Emmanuel Laroche, Dictionnaire de la Langue (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959).
25. G. A. Wainright, "Keftiu and Karamania (Asia Minor)", Anatolian Studies IV (1954), 33-48.
26. M. V. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey", Anatolian Studies IV (1954), 134, Fig. 4.
27. O. R. Gurney, The Hittites (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), 46-58.
28. Smith, op. cit., 95. The spell contains cartouches of Amenhotep III.
29. Wainright, op. cit., 200.
30. Smith, op. cit., 91.
31. Idem.
32. Ibid., 91-92.
33. Idem.
34. Helene J. Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B. C." American Journal of Archaeology LI (1947), 44.
35. Hall, op. cit., 279
36. Wainright, AJA 56:4, p. 200.
37. Breasted, ARE II, 761.
38. Hall, loc. cit.
39. Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1964), Vol. II, Part 2, 727, 740.
40. Ibid., II, 2, 739.
41. Smith, op. cit., 33.
42. The perverse ambiguity of the Egyptian and Semitic ʿl "coast-land, island" has often been noted. The term "in the midst of the Great Green", however, most naturally applies to islands rather than coastlands.
43. Wainright, Anatolian Studies IV (1954), 33-48.
44. Kantor, AJA LI (1947), 44.
45. Idem.
46. Hall, op. cit., 278.
47. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 65-67. Cf. Figs. 63, 72-74.
48. Idem. Cf. Fig. 53.

49. Breasted, ARE, II, 206.
50. Evans, op. cit., II, 22-92.
51. Hutchinson, op. cit., 103.
52. Evans, op. cit., II, 2, 655.
53. Ibid., II, 2, 656.
54. Ibid., II, 2, 657-658.
55. Wainright, AJA 56:4, 200.
56. Hutchinson, op. cit., 95.
57. Lionel Casson The Ancient Mariners (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959), 24.
58. A. J. B. Wace, "Crete and Mycenae", Chapter XVI in the Cambridge Ancient History, II, 438.

BOOK REVIEWS

CYCLOPAEDIA OF BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE
By John M'Clintock and James Strong. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1968 (reprint). 904 pp. (Vol. 1). Subscription price, \$12.95 per volume.

With so many new dictionaries and reference works coming off the press, it is encouraging to see an old giant reprinted. M'Clintock and Strong was one of this reviewer's first sources in the study of church history. Biblical scholars who are engaged in thorough research often must consider something of the history of their subject. This encyclopedia serves that type of need admirably. The biographical material given on the heroes of the faith, particularly on nineteenth century scholars, is alone worth the obtaining of these volumes. Beyond this, the sheer immensity of material--more than 31,000 articles covering 12,400 double column pages--is invaluable. Certainly the seminary professor or student, as well as the pastor with a passion for depth in his preaching, should find these volumes an indispensable legacy from the past.

Grace Theological Seminary

James R. Battenfield

WITH BANDS OF LOVE By David Allan Hubbard. William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1968. \$1.95. 114 pp. (paperback).

The goal of Dr. Hubbard is to show how Hosea spoke to his own people, anticipated a fuller revelation of God in the New Testament and gave a message for contemporary life and thought. This is not a commentary on the book of Hosea, but theological observations prompted by the prophet's preaching. The author sees Hosea's marriage and message as the two main themes interwoven with God's judgment and grace.

Hosea spoke within the cultural, political, social and religious context of his time. It was the twilight of Israel's finest day. The prophet interpreted the meaning of the covenant for his own time (750-725 B.C.). Hubbard suggests four possible occupations for Hosea and cautiously

accepts the fourth: priest, professional prophet, baker or farmer. God chose this uncommon person to have an uncommon experience paralleled only in Jeremiah. The marriage of Hosea did not constitute the prophetic call, but certainly enhanced this call. Hosea's suffering marriage was a personal cross and became a help in understanding the cross of Christ. According to Dr. Hubbard, Hosea's cross in marriage pictured God's redemptive work through innocent suffering. The most righteous Man in history became history's greatest sufferer.

Dr. Hubbard brings out interesting facts on the names of Hosea's children, the Assyrian policy of homogenizing peoples and Masochism (weeping ceremonies to bring God's favor). He deals with the moral problem of Hosea's marriage and the reasons for Israel's collapse. He notes the fulfillment of Hosea 3:4, 5 as the Exilic Restoration. While the author mentions the future kingdom of Christ and a fulfilled covenant to Israel (p. 108), he doesn't attempt to deal with the eschatological problems. His book is free of footnotes, Hebrew words and bibliographic maps of Hosea's world.

The author is the President of Fuller Theological Seminary. He originally gave the contents of this book as Sunday School lessons in a California church and as lectures at the Conservative Baptist Seminary in Denver, Colorado. This book will be helpful to pastors, teachers and laymen. The reviewer's copy has ten crooked pages.

James H. Gabhart

Community Church
Tippecanoe, Indiana

THE WILL TO WIN. By James C. Hefley. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1968. \$2.95. 106 pp.

There may be more sports fans on earth today than craters on the moon. In this day of sports "worship," a new hero is developing, the Christian athlete. Even the unsaved person will listen to the conversion story and personality sketch of such men as Jim Ryun, track star of University of Kansas; Clyde Lee, basketball forward of San Francisco Warriors and Pat Hodgson, football end of Washington Redskins. Freelance writer James C. Hefley skillfully makes Christian athletes seem real, understandable and human.

In The Will To Win, Hefley interviews fifteen athletes and a football coach as to the purpose and relevance of their Christianity in the sports world. Preparing the work in similar style to companion books Play Ball

and Sports Alive, he has a picture, title and record of each star. The testimonies of the men require space of about five pages apiece. He limits details and includes pertinent quotations of the athletes. In the Conclusion, the author invites the unsaved reader to "sign in and suit up" with Christ.

James H. Gabhart

Community Church
Tippecanoe, Indiana

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK. By Joseph Addison Alexander, London: Banner of Truth Trust, (1960 reprint), 444 pp. 13/6. (American representative: Puritan Publications, Box 652, Carlisle, Pa., 17013 \$3.50).

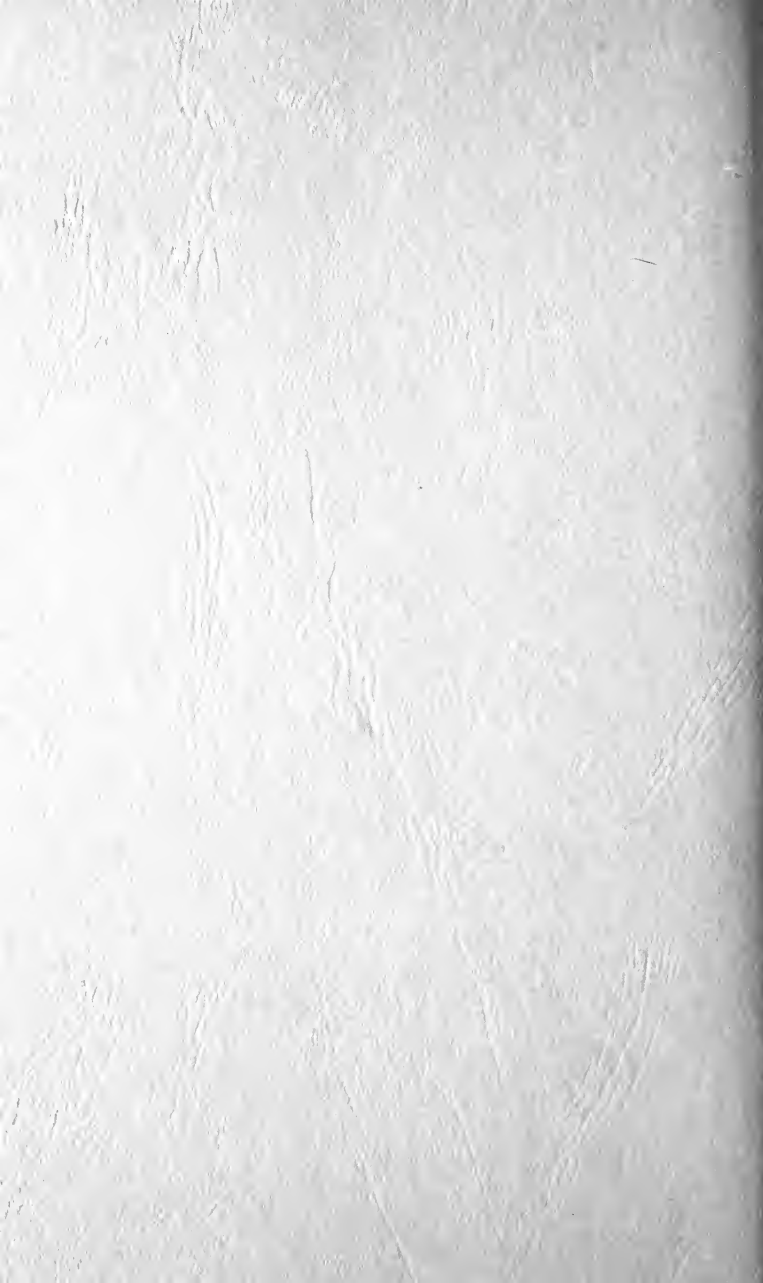
This is an attractive reprint by offset lithography of the original 1858 edition of this well-known conservative commentary on Mark. The page size is somewhat larger than the original edition, making for easier reading. The interpretation is printed after the quotation of each verse in the KJV. The entire interpretation of each verse is printed as a single paragraph; while conserving space, this does not make for an attractive format to the modern reader.

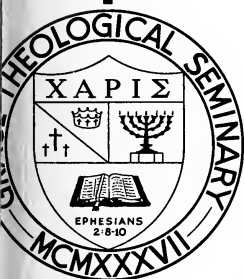
This is a thorough, conservative commentary by a scholarly Princeton professor of the past century. The exposition is based on a close study of the original language. The author is careful to bring out the true force of the portion under consideration. Obviously Alexander did not have the advantage of the more recent developments concerning the understanding of the Greek language; yet this interpretation is remarkably fresh and up-to-date. Nor will the reader find here any references to such recent Synoptic developments as Form Criticism or Redaction Criticism. Rather the reader is given a straight forward interpretation by a convinced conservative scholar who accepted the trustworthiness of the Gospel of Mark as it stands.

The modest price for this large volume makes it a good buy and a worthy addition to the library of any Bible student and Christian worker.

D. Edmond Hiebert

Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary
Fresno, California





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DOES GOD WANT CHRISTIANS TO PERFORM MIRACLES TODAY?

JOHN C. WHITCOMB, JR.
Director of Postgraduate Studies
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INTRODUCTION

One of Satan's most insidious purposes, through the ages, has been to enter a wedge between God's people and God's infallible, inerrant Word. It all began in the Garden of Eden when "the father of lies" asked Eve, "Yea, hath God said . . . ?" and it continues today without abatement. Two distinct but related levels of this Satanic strategy can be detected in our day:

(1) Rationalistic doubts and denials of the supernatural acts of God as recorded in Scripture. This is being most keenly felt in evangelical circles today through various compromises with the theory of organic evolution, which attempt to reduce the great creative miracles of God to mere providential processes.

(2) The other strategy of the enemy is to encourage Christians to imagine present-day miracles where there are none, through the claims of self-appointed miracle workers.

The goal of the first strategy is to take away the Bible from us piece by piece, until we wonder what pieces of infallible Scripture are still left to us.

The goal of the second strategy is to take us away from the Bible by centering our attention on new claims of divine revelation by modern prophets, or on new and supernatural experiences and powers so that we have little time or interest in searching the Scriptures for God's truth and for God's revealed ways of perpetuating and promoting it.

THE PRESSURE IS ON

In every generation men have gravitated to religions that offer signs and wonders as their basic appeal. This has been a principal source of power for Roman Catholicism, which claims a continuing revelation accompanied by continuing signs. And what modern, fast-growing cult is devoid of prophets and miracle-workers? Old-line Pentecostalism, and now the "Neo-Pentecostal" movement, offer the miracle of tongues, the interpretation of tongues, and even faith-healers that attract millions. In tune with the times, Protestant liberalism has abandoned its old rationalistic formulas in favor of a more vibrant existentialism called Neo-Orthodoxy, which offers a direct "word" from God to sincere individual seekers the world over, whether they have actually heard of the historical Christ or not.

What may be considered a natural desire by men to see some token of God has surely been accelerated by the suffocating atmosphere of twentieth-century uniformitarian scientism. If Satan cannot take away the true God by the pressure of theoretical or practical atheism in the academic world, he will attempt to do so by pushing men to the invention of false gods that cannot really save or satisfy. That is surely the crisis of the present hour.

The prophet Isaiah felt such pressures in Judah 700 years before Christ. On the one hand, the deep skepticism of that age was represented by King Ahaz himself, who completely rejected God's offer of a great supernatural sign (Isa. 7:12). On the other hand, superstitious men (possibly including King Ahaz) were encouraging one another: "Consult the mediums and the wizards who whisper and mutter" (Isa. 8:19). The true answer to such pressures was not that God never performs miracles, but that He does so on His terms only, and in accordance with His revealed program of history and redemption. "To the law and to the testimony! If they do not speak according to this word, it is because they have no dawn" (Isa. 8:20). Thus, Isaiah himself cried out to God for global and spectacular signs of His power as in the days of Moses at Mount Sinai (Isa. 64:1-3). And an even greater prophet, John the Baptist, sent two of his friends to Jesus to ask why the full glory of the Kingdom Age was not yet being manifested (Matt. 11:2-6). Our Lord was continually teaching His disciples to pray for stupendous miracles when he taught them to pray: "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven." Their minds fascinated by this prospect, the disciples came to Jesus and pointedly asked Him, after His resurrection, "Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" His answer was not that there would never be such a literal kingdom and that God would never reveal His great power and glory to men. His answer to them was, in effect, "Not yet" (Acts 1:7).

GOD'S PLAN AND PURPOSE FOR MIRACLES

People often ask why it is, if God is still alive and powerful, He does not perform through men of faith today the same kinds of signs and wonders He performed when Christ and the apostles were here. The answer is that God has a plan in His dealings with men, and that plan does not happen to include a constant repetition of the same kinds of miracles in every time and place. If this were His plan, then miracles would lose their unique sign value because they would be taken for granted. God has wisely protected the significance of miracles in history by the rarity of their occurrence, even in Bible times. Enoch's translation was the only miracle in over 1,700 years between Adam and the Flood. For centuries Israel suffered in Egypt with no special voice from heaven. Only rarely did a miracle occur during the centuries from Joshua to David. And God protected the absolute uniqueness of His Son's miraculous ministry by withholding all miracles for centuries beforehand--even from John the Baptist, the forerunner himself (John 11:41).

Why did Christ perform miracles during His public ministry? Was it to prove that God existed? Was it primarily to help people who were sick, crippled, or in special physical need? No, the purpose was to identify Himself as Israel's true Messiah and to confirm the new revelation He was bringing to the nation (John 20:30-31; Acts 2:22). Thus, the healing of the paralytic man was not for the primary purpose of helping him, or to prove that God exists, but "that ye may know that the Son of Man hath authority on earth to forgive sins" (Matt. 9:6; cf. Deut. 18:22). When John the Baptist momentarily questioned His Messianic identity, Jesus pointed to the people He had just healed as a fulfillment of the Messianic promise of Isaiah 35:5-6 (cf. Matt. 11:4). Israel was thus historically conditioned to expect signs as the proper credentials of their Messiah and His apostles (John 4:48, I Cor. 1:22, II Cor. 12:12, Rom. 15:19, Heb. 2:3,4). The great tragedy, of course, was that Israel willfully rejected the signs God did give to them (Matt. 12:38, I Cor. 14 21-22).

If supernatural signs were thus intended to serve as confirmations of God's special messengers and their message, it seems obvious that such signs would no longer be needed after these messengers had brought their message. In fact, a sign without a message is worse than useless, as Paul and Barnabas discovered to their horror at Lystra (Acts 14:8-18). Thus, the superstructure of the true Church is built upon a foundation which consists exclusively of Christ and His apostles (Eph. 2:20, I Cor. 3:10-11, Rev. 21:14). Since the foundation of a building only needs to be laid once, we may be sure that God has not given any new revelation to His people since the apostles died. The fact that only His apostles belonged in the foundation is seen clearly in our Lord's high priestly

prayer, when He prayed for those who would believe on Him "through their word," namely, the word of the apostles to whom "all the truth" would be given by the Holy Spirit (John 17:20; 16:13). To invent a message as from God when God has not spoken is dangerous indeed, for God is infinitely jealous of the boundary lines of His revelation to men (cf. Deut. 4:2, 12:32, 18:20; Prov. 30:5-6; Jer. 23:30-32; Gal. 1:8; Rev. 21:18-19). New Testament history suggests that the various sign-gifts, including the gift of tongues, were no longer in use after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and that the gifts of knowledge and prophecy were set aside after the Book of Revelation was completed about A.D. 90. Thus, only the Apostle John lived to see the coming of "that which is perfect" (I Cor. 13:10), namely, the completed Bible. The Bible is perfect, because no one before John wrote the final chapter had anything more than a "part" of the truth (I Cor. 13:9; Heb. 1:1). For someone now, in this superstructure phase of church history, to claim a new revelation from God would be a colossal step backward and downward to the "pre-perfect" foundation phase. Instantly, all of our Bibles would be incomplete! None of us could teach or preach authoritatively and effectively again, until, like Apollos, we could find someone to expound to us "the way of God more accurately" (Acts 18:26).

CHRIST'S MIRACLES WERE UNIQUE

If God is indeed giving to certain men the power to perform healing miracles today, why are there so few of them, and why are their powers so limited, and why are the results so doubtful? By contrast, the miracles of Christ and His apostles were fantastically abundant, utterly spectacular, and totally undeniable. Let us consider each of these in more detail. First, our Lord's miracles were abundant. The Gospel narratives make it quite clear that Christ healed vast numbers of people in many parts of Palestine and over a period of several years (cf. Matt. 14:14, Luke 6:19, etc.). With regard to the apostles, see Acts 5:12-16, 19:11-12. But Church history since the days of the apostles, even in times of great revival and reformation, has not been characterized by physical miracles including healings (see Appendix). Second, our Lord's healing works were spectacular in nature. Consider the healing of the man born blind (John 9:32); the replacement and healing of a man's amputated ear (Luke 22:50); and the immediate and complete resuscitation to mortal life of a man who was not only dead but who had been decomposing in a tomb for more than half a week (John 11). By contrast, modern so-called faith-healers concentrate on those types of physical ailments that are functional rather than organic, and which can more easily be explained as psychotherapeutic rather than genuinely supernatural (for an excellent analysis of this entire problem, see Edmunds and Scorer, Some Thoughts on Faith Healing, The Tyndale Press, 39 Bedford Square, London W. C. 1, 1956).

DOES GOD WANT CHRISTIANS TO PERFORM MIRACLES TODAY? 7

In the third place, our Lord's miracles were undeniable. Note, for example, the testimonies of such unregenerate men as Nicodemus (John 3:2) and the chief priest (John 11:47, Acts 4:16). In stark contrast to the present situation, no one who saw the Lord Jesus Christ at work ever questioned the completely supernatural character of His healing miracles. The debate was centered entirely on the issue of whether God or Satan was the source of His power (Matt. 12:24). The question we must ask, in the light of this fact, is not whether God still has the power to perform those kinds of miracles today, but whether it is His plan. For we may be perfectly sure that if it were His plan to do now exactly what He did through certain men nineteen centuries ago, there would be no modern day deniers of the reality of miracles, even as there were none in Jesus' day!

IS GOD HEALING SICK PEOPLE TODAY?

It is my firm conviction that God is healing some sick Christians today (and I have seen this happen twice in my own family), but in a very different way than He did when Christ was here, and for a very different purpose. It is true that God occasionally raises up some desperately sick Christians to a continued life of worship and service; but He never does so through a faith-healer, and He never does so in such a spectacular way that godless men are absolutely forced to admit that a genuine miracle occurred.

God's basic provision and pattern for the healing of Christians is outlined in James 5:13-16. Note carefully, in the first place, that the sick Christian asks for "the elders of the church" to come to him. He does not request to be carried to a miracle-healer! Secondly, God does not promise immediate and spectacular healing, nor does He exclude recuperation processes or the help of doctors and medicines. It is a "family affair," and is not for "show." In other words, it is not intended to serve as a sign to Israel or the unbelieving Gentile world that God is real. Its purpose is to encourage Christians to keep on trusting and serving the gracious Lord who renews their strength according to His will and purpose. In the third place, the healing is not automatically guaranteed each time! Otherwise, no Christians of the early Church would ever have died! We must therefore assume that "the prayer of faith" which was essential to the healing of sick Christians (James 5:15) was not always granted by the sovereign Lord, even as other gifts were provided only according to the will of the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 12:11).

PAUL HIMSELF LIVED TO SEE THE PASSING OF MIRACLES

If faith-healers are a vital part of God's program for the Church today, why did the Apostle Paul experience the end of such powers during

his own lifetime? While at Ephesus, he healed many people by miraculous means (Acts 19:11-12); but God chose not to answer his prayers for his own bodily healing (II Cor. 12:7-10). The reason for this is exceedingly important: "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my power is made perfect in weakness." What, then, shall we think of a modern faith-healer who states or implies that certain saints of God must continue to be cripples because they have insufficient faith or because they have not come to the right man? Is this the reason why great Christians such as John Calvin, David Brainerd, Frances Havergal, Robert Murray McChesney, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, and Fanny Crosby, among others, suffered many years of ill health or died young? If God's power is made perfect in weakness, is robust physical health necessarily a measure of one's spiritual well-being?

Paul's last recorded miracles were performed on the island of Malta, one of which was a remarkable fulfillment of our Lord's promise to the apostles that they would not be hurt by deadly serpents (Acts 28: 1-10; Mark 16:18). But after Paul arrived in Rome, his miracle-working powers were apparently withdrawn by the Lord. In a letter to the Philippian church, he explained how Epaphroditus, their messenger to him, had almost died from a sickness, and the clear implication is that Paul was unable to help him (Phil. 2:25-30). After a time, Paul was released from prison, visited the Aegean area again, and was brought back to Rome for execution. In his final letters to Timothy he explained that he had left Trophimus at Miletus sick (II Tim. 4:20). In fact, he knew of no faith-healer who could help Timothy either, so he recommended to him: "Be no longer a drinker of water [which was often dangerously polluted], but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities" (I Tim. 5:23).

Thus, step by step, God was removing the scaffolding of miracles from the early church as the New Testament Scriptures were being completed and the apostles and prophets were dying off. The Holy Spirit was now focusing the eyes of Christians exclusively upon the written Word, apart from which there is no salvation or spiritual maturity (II Tim. 3:15-17). God's plan for this age, said Paul, is for men to walk by faith rather than by sight (II Cor. 5:7), just as our Lord reminded Thomas, the sign-seeker, "blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (John 20:29).

CHRIST CLEARLY IMPLIED THAT PHYSICAL MIRACLES WOULD BE SUPPLANTED BY EVEN GREATER WORKS DURING THE CHURCH AGE

The very night of His betrayal, the Lord Jesus told His disciples: "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do because I go unto the Father"

(John 14:12). What did He mean by these words? The works that Jesus performed during His public ministry were fantastically great. Diseases were banished, demons were cast out, dead men arose, wine, bread, and fishes were created, and mighty storms were instantly calmed. But it must be recognized that each of these miracles was intentionally superficial and temporary in quality! In other words, no one was permanently helped by any of them, nor were men's deepest needs met by such works of power! Creating food for one occasion did not automatically supply the need for later occasions. And with regard to bodily ailments, every diseased, crippled, leprous person Jesus ever healed finally died anyway--every one of them! And poor Lazarus! It is true that Jesus raised him from the dead, instantly and completely, with no convalescence needed. But later on he died again! Would you like to die twice? When Christ raises your dead body some day, would you want it to be raised to mortal life again? This was certainly no favor to Lazarus, nor was it intended to be! It was rather a mere temporary and limited sign of Christ's power to do the greater work of resurrection to glory in the Day of the Lord (John 5:28-29).

In this light, our Lord's words take on new meaning: "greater works than these shall ye do because I go unto the Father." Can there be any greater works than the miracles of Jesus? Yes, there can be and there are. When our Lord returned to heaven, the Spirit of God came ten days later and baptized the disciples into the Body of Christ. Peter then arose, preached a sermon to a vast multitude of Jews, and three thousand men experienced the spiritual miracle of regeneration in one day! This was the "greater work" because it met man's basic need, and met it permanently. Let it be remembered that our Lord's purpose in coming to earth was not to preach the Christian Gospel but to make such preaching possible (I Cor. 15:1-4). If He had not died as our substitute for sin, there could be no Gospel (John 12:20-24). But since His death, resurrection, and ascension, many pastors, evangelists, and missionaries have won more men to saving faith than the Son of God did, and physical miracles have not been the cause of their success.

For a few years, the apostles and prophets did both the lesser works (sign-miracles) and the "greater works" (winning men to saving faith); but as the apostolic age reached its close the sign-miracles phased out and the "greater works" continue as God's basic program for the Church age, until Jesus comes again. Then, at last, our need for complete and permanent physical transformation will be met, for "the Lord Jesus Christ shall change our body of humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself" (Phil. 3:21). And there will be no debate about the genuineness of that miracle, "for the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God"

(Rom. 8:19). God does care about our physical needs and sufferings; but He has a special plan and program for dealing with these needs; and continual, guaranteed healings through special men and gifts does not happen to be in that program for the Church in its superstructure stage of maturity.

No, the Church doesn't need new revelation from heaven today! We already have a completed Bible and the Holy Spirit of God to interpret and apply it! The Church doesn't need more apostles to guide her through the troubled waters of this Satan-dominated world. An apostle might fail us, as Peter did at Antioch. That is why the Holy Spirit wrote, through Peter himself, that "we have the prophetic word made more sure, to which you do well to pay attention as to a lamp shining in a dark place" (II Pet. 1:19). The Church doesn't need special powers, like those which Christ promised to the apostles in Mark 16:17-18, namely, (1) to cast out demons, (2) to speak with new tongues, (3) to pick up serpents, (4) to drink deadly poisons, and (5) to heal the sick. The Church doesn't need any holy places, healing centers, faith-healers, or signs and wonders to appeal to the five senses. WHAT THE CHURCH NEEDS IS A NEW CONFRONTATION WITH THE WHOLE COUNSEL OF GOD, PROCLAIMED IN THE POWER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT WITH AUTHORITY AND LOVE, BY MEN WHO KNOW THEIR GOD AND WHO HONOR HIS ONLY WRITTEN REVELATION. Then, and then only, may we expect our deepest needs to be supplied, and God's purpose for His Church to be accomplished in our day.

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APPENDIX

THE TESTIMONY OF EARLY CHURCH FATHERS CONCERNING THE CESSATION OF MIRACLES AFTER THE APOSTOLIC PERIOD

(Quoting B. B. Warfield, MIRACLES:
YESTERDAY AND TODAY. Grand Rapids:
Eerdmans, reprinted, 1965)

With regard to Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of the second century A.D., Dr. Warfield states: "The writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers contain no clear and certain allusions to miracle-working or to the exercise of the charismatic gifts, contemporaneous with themselves" (1. 10). And after discussing the writings of third century A.D. writers such as Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Origen, and Cyprian, he concludes:

"And so we pass on to the fourth century in an ever-increasing stream, but without a single writer having claimed himself to have wrought a miracle of any kind or having ascribed miracle-working to any known name in the church, and without a single instance having been recorded in detail" (p. 12).

Beginning in the fourth century, however, Christian leaders apparently became so desperate for miracles to match the "miracles" they heard about from heretical and heathen sources, that they began to see "ecclesiastical miracles" everywhere. This trend increased into the Middle Ages, when nearly every "saint" in the Roman Catholic Church had to be supplied with a full display of miraculous powers! At the same time (and this point is exceedingly important for our discussion), they as much as admitted that these miracles were on a much lower level than the great miracles of Christ and the apostles!

For example, Augustine (died 430 A.D.), who in later life felt obliged to testify of many miraculous works going on in his day (though perplexed that no one was taking notice of them!--p. 45), stated in earlier days that none were occurring! "Why do not these things take place now?," he asked about 392 A.D. His answer: "Because they would not move unless they were wonderful, and if they were customary they would not be wonderful . . . God has dealt wisely with us, therefore, in sending his miracles once for all to convince the world, depending afterward on the authority of the multitudes thus convinced" (p. 41).

Chrysostom (4th cent.), the most eloquent preacher of his day, stated: "Argue not because miracles do not happen now, that they did not happen then . . . In those times they were profitable, and now they are not. . . Of miraculous powers, not even a vestige is left" (pp. 46-47).

Isodore of Pelusium (4th cent.) speculated: "Perhaps miracles would take place now, too, if the lives of the teachers rivalled the bearing of the Apostles" (p. 47).

Gregory the Great (6th cent.), commenting on Mark 16:17, asked: "Is it so, my brethren, that because ye do not these signs, ye do not believe? On the contrary, they were necessary in the beginning of the church; for, that faith might grow, it required miracles to cherish it; just as when we plant shrubs, we water them until we see them to thrive in the ground, and as soon as they are well rooted we cease our irrigation" (p. 47).

Isodore of Seville (7th Cent.), in similar vein: The reason why the church does not now do the miracles it did under the Apostles is, because miracles were necessary then to convince the world of the truth

of Christianity; but now it becomes it, being so convinced, to shine forth in good works Whoever seeks to perform miracles now as a believer, seeks after vainglory and human applause" (p 47).

Bernard of Clairvaux (13th cent.) asks concerning Mark 16:17, "For who is there that seems to have these signs of the faith, without which no one, according to this Scripture, shall be saved?" and answers by saying that the greatest miracles are those of the regenerated life (p. 48).

In struggling to explain this strange paradox in the thinking of early Christian theologians, namely, the absence and at the same time the presence of miracles, Dr. Warfield concludes: "The miracles of the first three centuries, if accepted at all, must be accepted on the general assertion that such things occurred--a general assertion which itself is wholly lacking until the middle of the second century and which, when it does appear, concerns chiefly prophecy and healings, including especially exorcisms, which we can scarcely be wrong in supposing are precisely the classes of marvels with respect to which excitement most easily blinds the judgment and insufficiently grounded rumors most readily grow up" (p. 12). And speaking of theologians of later centuries, he concludes: "No doubt we must recognize that these Fathers realized that the ecclesiastical miracles were of a lower order than those of Scripture. It looks very much as if, when they were not inflamed by enthusiasm, they did not really think them to be miracles at all" (p. 48).

Thus, church history confirms the clear inferences of Scripture that sign-miracles of all types ceased with the death of the apostles.

THE CHURCH REACHING TOMORROW'S WORLD

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A father was listening to the late news as the commentator referred to different sections of the world. Desiring a clearer understanding of what the commentator was saying, he slipped quietly into his son's room where he knew there was a world globe on the desk. Picking up the globe, he started for the door. His son roused and looking at his father, asked, "Dad, what are you doing with my world?" God is asking the church this same question about His world. Indeed, what is the church doing with God's world? This is a deeply probing question which the church should face realistically. The church must do this in order to evaluate properly the effectiveness of its ministry. The church must analyze and take a careful inventory of its procedures and programs in this day and also of its Bible orientation while relating these considerations to the future.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

What are we talking about when we speak of the church reaching tomorrow's world? We must define terms or risk being misunderstood and worse, failing in communication. Semantics seem to change at a dizzy pace. Today, "soul" means a certain type of modern music. Now people smoke "pot." A "trip" is taken by grabbing a bedpost while sniffing glue. "Grass" is really marijuana. A "cool cat" does not always purr but could bash your head in for a few dollars. "Split" now means to take off for somewhere. Just wait for a while and the meanings will change again. Values also change. For instance, a little boy was looking at a Western on TV. As a gunman moved into a

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saloon with his gun drawn, said the little fellow to those seated around the TV, "Don't worry. He's not going to drink; he's just going to kill a man."

What terms are more misunderstood than Bible terms? For instance, take the term "Christian." Ask almost anyone, "Are you a Christian?" Inevitably the answer will be, "Of course I am a Christian; do you think I'm a heathen?" All the while there is not the slightest idea where the term originated, how it should be used, or what it means.

CHURCH

The word "church" must be defined. Jesus declared in Matthew 16:18, "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." The English word "church" comes from the Greek kuriakos which infers possession by the Lord. The other Greek word translated "church" is a compound of ek and kaleō meaning "to call out." It principally means a gathering of people, and assembly or a congregation. The word is used in several different ways which may confuse those with whom we are trying to communicate. It is used to designate the invisible, universal church involving all true believers in the Age of Grace. This is usually the meaning of the word in the Ephesian and Colossian epistles. Literally, this is what Jesus meant in Matthew 16:18. It is also used to designate various local churches no matter where they may be. In the Book of Acts we find the word used in this sense. It is also used to designate the visible church comprising a large body of believers who may be scattered all over the world. Since it is the invisible church with which men deal in this world, and it is the visible church which is under criticism and direct fire from many quarters today, and it is the visible church which actually represents God in the eyes of men and nations, and it is from the visible church the gospel will come, we shall use the word in this sense. This would include all who are associated with a visible assembly of professed Christians.

May I suggest that each pastor should periodically teach the doctrine of the church so that people understand the New Testament revelation. Many church members have not the faintest idea of the true Biblical nature of the church. They should be informed.

The church, which represents God on earth today, His name, the name of Jesus Christ and the Bible, is a continuation of the body which began at Pentecost. Even though man has changed, modified and in many senses damaged what God started at Pentecost when He miraculously manifested the Holy Spirit, the fact remains that the image the church presents is usually the image of God and of Christ held by men.

A review of the Biblical nature of the church is always in order. For the church, this means taking an inventory. The Bible is the church's only handbook. Other books deal mostly with techniques. The church must see itself in this mirror of God constantly. Does the church measure up to Bible standards?

Too often the church has forgotten or ignored the fact that it is an organism, not an organization. It is a living instrument of God according to I Corinthians 12:12-23. A microscope is an organization in which mechanical parts are joined. The human eye is an organism, a complex of all essential parts mutually dependent on one another and partaking of the same life. This is the church, a complex of many members mutually dependent on each other and all dependent on the Lord while being equally possessors of eternal life.

Ecclesiastical organizations encircle the world like a giant spider web today. The church has frequently become trapped in the meshes of its own organization. The organism within the organization is stifled.

The New Testament teaches that the church is to be a testimony. This involves a process. For this process God has given the church spiritual gifts. Ephesians 4:11-13 explains this. It is a stimulating thing for the church to reflect on what God has done to implement its mandate. He has placed specifications in His Word for the ideal church. In Ephesians 4 the church is seen as a Christian community with gifts of grace for service.

In chapter 4, verse 11, Jesus Himself gave the apostles, specifically the twelve, to the church. These men were fully empowered and authorized to represent Christ in the church. They were a select group for that particular time. When they died the apostleship ceased.

The prophets were a specific group who expounded the revelation of God until the Scripture was complete. They spoke under the direct prompting of the Holy Spirit. These also ceased. Both apostles and prophets kept the early church moving in the right direction as the direct emissaries of God.

Evangelists were the bearers of good news as the word indicates. They were church starters, traveling from place to place as Philip in Acts 21. Theirs was a special, stimulating and warm ministry as they faithfully preached the truth. Certainly today there are those who have the gift of evangelism as did Knox, Wesley, Moody, etc.

Pastor-teachers are God's key men for the church on earth. Pastor is poinēn, from a root meaning "to protect", while the verb poinainō

is to "shepherd." The pastor protects and shepherds but he also teaches. Feeding the flock is an important function of any shepherd. He either brings the food to the sheep or shows them where it is. The pastor is not a true shepherd today unless he feeds the Word of God to his sheep. He has the authority of God to do this.

Verse 12 shows that the clear purpose for all of this is for the "perfecting" katartizō or "fitting together" of the saints. Just as a broken bone may be set, the saints are brought into their proper spiritual condition and made fit for service. To some extent all of the saints are to be involved in this edifying process. This is "for the work of the ministry." God-directed service is the goal. This productive energy glorifies God. The basic task of any pastor is to edify or build up the Body of Christ in the faith. This brings greater expression for God through the whole community of the saints.

Verse 13 distinctly shows the church that it is God's desire for each member to grow to maturity, "till we all come in the unity of the faith." This is one faith in Christ and produces unanimity in the Body. "And of the knowledge of the Son of God." This supreme knowledge is about Jesus Christ. Only when believers have a unity of knowledge about Christ do they achieve spiritual maturity and unity in the church. What the church knows about Christ will determine the extent of its faith. "Unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." The believer is a full-grown, mature, spiritual man. He is not a child in any sense. He constantly moves ahead spiritually and in knowledge toward what Christ is.

So, God has made adequate provision for His church. The gifts make steady, maturing growth possible through the processes prescribed by Paul. On this basis the church is equipped with everything necessary to please God.

This is a New Testament church and nothing less will do. Each local assembly should evaluate its present Bible base and program in the light of this passage of Scripture. It is not enough to make a few evangelical declarations about the church and its mandate. It is safe to say that until the church does this, it will not be doing what God desires. The result of its operation, therefore, will not be for His glory. As each pastor moves into his field of service, his first task is to evaluate the church of which he is the pastor in the light of Scripture. Where the program of the church needs to be brought back into line with the Bible, he should insist on this. Otherwise, his ministry to a large extent will be unprofitable.

But we must remember that we cannot explain all of this to all of the people who have an opinion about the church. So whether we are talking about the National Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, the National Association of Evangelicals, the American Council of Churches, any denomination, group or fellowship of churches, or any local church, remember that it is the visible church which appears in the eyes and minds of people and with which they deal directly. Ideally we do not want it this way. But this is the way it is.

WORLD

By the "world" we generally designate the human race and all future generations until Jesus Christ returns to rapture His Bride. The spiritual vision of the Church is always world-wide according to Acts 1:8. The globe must be encircled with the gospel message.

There are almost three and one-half billion people in the world today. The population is gradually increasing. The human race gives no indication that it will reduce the rate of replenishing the earth. Therefore, our mission field is increasing statistically. It is this world which God loves with redemptive purpose and power. This world, part of it here in America, is the missionary concern of the church.

The composition of any society is important in its evangelization. Let us see a few of the segments of our society at which the church must launch a gospel barrage.

The present population of the United States is close to 207 million. About 60% of these people are too young to remember the first bad depression. About 50% of them are too young to recall World War II. Nearly 20% were not born when John Kennedy was elected President. Approximately one-half of our population is under 25.

Lacking a better designation, we have called this generation "The Now Generation." In some very clear respects we have a different world today from that which Paul confronted as he first preached the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Recently an article appeared in the United Church Herald by Robert Kemper. It was entitled, "The Groovy, Lonely, Way-out, Up-tight, Mini-skirted, Maxi-active, Turned-on World of the Young." It contained a short biography of a member of the "Now Generation":

- 1953 - The year I was born the Korean War ended.
- 1954 - When I was one, the Supreme Court banned racial segregation in the public schools.

- 1955 - When I was 2, Dr. Jonas Salk's polio vaccine was pronounced a success.
- 1956 - When I was 3, we exploded an H-bomb the equivalent of 10 million tons of TNT.
- 1957 - When I was 4, the Russians launched Sputnik I.
- 1958 - When I was 5, Cardinal Angelo Guiseppe Roncalli became Pope John XXIII.
- 1959 - When I was 6, Fidel Castro assumed power in Cuba.
- 1960 - When I was 7, John F. Kennedy was elected President.
- 1961 - When I was 8, the Peace Corps was established.
- 1962 - When I was 9, John Glenn orbited the earth.
- 1963 - When I was 10, John F. Kennedy was assassinated.
- 1964 - When I was 11, the Senate passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and we bombed North Vietnam.
- 1965 - When I was 12, there was a march in Selma.
- 1966 - When I was 13, the Red Guards appeared in China.
- 1967 - When I was 14, Newark, Detroit, Los Angeles and many other cities rioted.
- 1968 - When I was 15, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy were assassinated.
- 1969 - I am 16 now. Men have walked the moon. These are the events that have shaped my life.

This kaleidoscope of a 16-year-old demonstrates the broad experience and background of our youth as compared with the previous generations.

Recently the residents of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, had to deal with an unusual problem--a walking fish. It is called the Asian walking catfish. It grows to a size of two feet and has breathing organs and pectoral fins that give it overland movement as well as swimming ability. It can jump four feet out of the water. It sleeps during the day and is active at night. It is so strong and slippery that it is almost impossible to handle. Two scientists from the Florida Game and Fresh Water Commission said, "A fish with the ability and inclination to leave the water and walk around is, to the best of our knowledge, unmanageable."

Not a bad description of parts of the Now Generation. We have a "different breed of catfish" today. Youth today often do not follow

predictable patterns, or stay in the "ponds." They are all over and full of surprises, some of them unpleasant. Regardless, we must bait our gospel hooks for this new breed!

Unquestionably, our youth today have broader horizons in every field except the spiritual than any other generation at the same age. Compare what a ten-year-old boy who has just made and launched his own rocket knows with what some of us knew when we were ten. Their high school material now was college curriculum years ago. The "Pill" is no secret. Some of them know more about sex than their parents know.

A missionary in the jungles was stopped on the trail by savages with bows and arrows. About that time a jet was flying over. The missionary pointed up and said, "See big bird. If you hurt me big bird will come down and hurt you." The leader of the band looked puzzled. He said, "Bird? Him no bird! Him Boeing 707!" These are amazing days. And yet kids today are trying to extend their limits with drugs and psychedelia.

There is the "new breed" we call hippies, most of whom act as if soap and water have gone out of style. These sad-faced, long-haired kids are alienated from almost everybody except their own kind. They have withdrawn from the world into one of their own making. They hate the "Establishment" which has provided the freedom they enjoy. It is interesting that Mexico does not admit hippies from the U.S. They have enough poverty and parasites in their society. Hippiedom is increasing in numbers, at least in California. Before you say, "These poor kids," remember their beastly, brutal murders, their thievery, their "pot" parties. These "back-to-nature" kids who infest our parks and beaches should take a few lessons from nature. Based on age and superior ability animals in the forest discipline and train their young. Who hasn't seen a bear or lion knock a cub sprawling? Nature is way ahead of the hippies. This segment of our population the church cannot ignore, even though our emotions alternate from contempt to pity to grace.

Again, the idealists and activists on our campuses today with anarchy as their goal are increasing in numbers. Anarchy is here! Dr. Fred Schwartz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade says:

The revival of anarchy is one of the significant and sinister developments of the last few years. Ten years ago it would have been difficult in most communities to find an individual who claimed to be an anarchist. Today anarchists abound on every side.

Terrorist tactics, such as bombing and assassination, have characterized the conduct of the anarchist. The unprecedented massive bomb wave sweeping this country testifies to the rebirth of anarchism. The magnitude of this bomb wave is revealed in a survey prepared for the Senate Permanent Investigation Committee (which is chaired by Senator John McClellan) by the Treasury Department. This survey reveals that during the 16-month period beginning January 1, and ending last April (1970), there were 40,000 bombings, attempts to bomb, and bomb threats recorded by local police. 'This figure is conservative,' states Eugene Rowsides, Assistant Secretary of the treasury, 'since not every law enforcement agency of the country was contacted.'

The survey showed that there were 4,330 actual bombings, 1,475 attempts to bomb, and 35,129 threats to bomb. The reported bombings were responsible for the deaths of 33 people and \$21.8 million of property damage. The end is not yet in sight.

Yes, we do have several new breeds. Some of them are unmanageable and some very difficult to handle. But I have no frustrations here. I find that the transforming power of the gospel is sufficient even for these. It works! Don't allow the oddities and ridiculous attitudes of these young people to alienate you from them so effectively that they are out of your circle of evangelization.

There is also the "old breed" of young people. I hope they outnumber the "new breed." These youth are just as knowledgeable, and have just as much individualism as any of the others. They may want change in the "Establishment," but they go about achieving it in the right manner.

In fact, it seems apparent that in spite of some university curricula, the majority of college students still want to learn. However, the influence of some large universities is gradually undermining the good ambitions of some of these.

For instance, even though it has been a great school, the University of California at Los Angeles now rivals most other universities as the number one school of revolution. It offers a 12-unit course in the history, anatomy and techniques of revolution, past, present and future, and, of course, all in the name of academic freedom. The course glorifies such infamous characters as Eldridge Cleaver, Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung. It isn't any wonder Bob Hope says, "Many colleges are no longer giving Bachelor of Arts degrees. After four

years you become a certified guerilla fighter."

Drugs and alcohol are continuing to exact their tragic toll. Dr. Stanley Yolles, former director, of the National Institute of Mental Health, estimates "that more than 20 million Americans have used marijuana. By the time adolescents reach college age," he says, "25 to 40 percent have at least tried 'pot.' About 10 percent of all marijuana experimenters may become chronic abusers of marijuana, LSD, barbiturates, amphetamines, and other drugs."

In many instances drugs have taken the place of alcohol on college campuses. Yet the number of alcoholics increases each year.

Expecially since the college campus has become a center of action, we must regard it as an important and strategic part of our world to be evangelized. The church should be keenly aware of this.

The average high school graduate has spent about 17,000 hours glued to a television set. Thus, all of the baser passions and desires in him have been stimulated and he has received a fraction of good education and wholesome entertainment. Our youth, in fact, our entire society, have been conditioned by communication media to produce the wicked violence and dangerous permissiveness of our contemporary society.

The group we call senior citizens has greatly increased since the longevity of life has increased. This is a segment of society needing very special help from the church in this day. Leisure world complexes, with as many as 10,000 units, are springing up all over the nation. Most of these have very little gospel testimony. These people are friendly and willing to talk about Christ.

The great "middle class" in America today is where the power really is found and they are the most reachable for Christ. Many mothers and fathers can still be found who are concerned about the spiritual welfare of their children. In thousands of contacts through door-to-door visitation this fact has been established. The snares and traps set by the devil today for our young people and children have sobered these parents ranging in age from 30 and up.

Our contemporary American society is a confused mixture of cultures. Often our evangelical churches have a tendency to function within a certain culture. But when we send missionaries to Africa we break out of our culture. Why not here at home? The missionary vision of each New Testament church should cover the entire gamut of society.

The reason for emphasizing these facts is not to infer that sins committed today are different from sins committed in the first century, although this would be partially true. Nor do we suggest that young people, physically, psychologically, or spiritually, are any different. Nor do we suggest that their spiritual needs are different. But the shattering and overwhelming intensity of anti-God and anti-Christ powers and influences has increased to white heat. There was a time when there were less illegitimate children per capita or when 10% of our school children were not smoking marijuana, etc. As far as I can see, there has not been a time in history when the world presented the same image across the spectrum of human life.

Unless we make an exhaustive and determined effort to understand the world today, the effectiveness of our evangelism will be minimal.

REACHING

By "reaching" we mean doing exactly what Jesus said we should do in Matthew 28:19 and 20, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the father, and of the son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the age. Amen." How could our Lord Jesus have been clearer? Who could improve on that command in its worldwide scope? It is a definite, concisely outlined plan of the divine will which is to be accomplished by the Church of Jesus Christ. It is assumed that we are going into this world as believers in Jesus Christ carrying a message which is the Word of God. This teaching was given by our Lord with the promise of more doctrine to come. Now we also have this outline of Christian doctrine from the pens of Paul, Peter, James, John and others. Also, we are to baptize believers by Christian water baptism. We are to teach them to observe the things which have been commanded in the New Testament for daily living and practice. This is to be a continuing ministry until Jesus brings it to an end as far as the church is concerned by the rapture of believers from this earth. The methodology used in performing this task so clearly outlined by our Lord may indeed change from time to time. We must not be absolutely conformed to certain methods. We will consider this further in a later lecture.

Never has the world presented a greater challenge to the church!

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH TODAY

PART TWO

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LUTHER L. GRUBB

Is the church following the Biblical mandate of the Lord Jesus Christ?

AN OBJECT OF CRITICISM

One of the most criticized institutions in the world today is the church. It has become a "whipping boy" for many of our problems. Ever since the beginning of time, man's nature has demanded a whipping boy for his errors and failures. Adam blamed Eve for tempting him with the fruit of the tree. Eve passed the blame to the serpent. Harry Truman had a sign on his desk which said, "The buck stops here." So today men are blaming the church for their own inadequacies. Don't believe all you hear! Criticisms are coming from every quarter with extreme and it seems increasing intensity. I doubt if there is any institution on the face of the earth today more criticized and emasculated than the church.

Is the church above criticism? No, indeed! Some criticisms are valid and some are not. Questions such as, "What's Happening to the Church?," "Has the Church Failed?," "Is Religion on the Decline?" are subjects for an increasing number of articles written by self-styled experts on the state of the church. It is amazing how little many of the "experts" know about the intrinsic nature and operation of the church. Yet they write as if they are authorities on the subject.

The members of today's churches should face the issues of criticism squarely with no attempt to avoid the realities they affirm. The tendency to fight back and to criticize those who criticize does not provide answers. It is true that some criticisms are designed to be destructive and yet even these demand careful consideration because out of them may come indications of spiritual needs which are not being

satisfied by today's church. Also, there are many constructive criticisms, all of which are well worth our careful consideration. Criticism is not necessarily bad. In fact, it may be extremely profitable and stimulating in improving the program of the church for tomorrow.

SPIRITUAL WEAKNESS

Those who are familiar with and informed about the church of this day should be the first to admit that the church is weak spiritually. The leaven of apostasy has swept through the church like a brush fire. The infiltration has been insidious and effective. The great church which came into existence on the day of Pentecost as so graphically narrated in Acts 2, was really intended to be a channel of spiritual instruction, edification and blessing to the world. That edification was to come directly from the Word of God. But now, after about 2,000 years of operation, it appears that the church which is supposed to be proclaiming the Word of God and which has its roots historically in the New Testament, is in need of the Word of God itself. Many churches have rejected the Person of Jesus Christ and His deity and have abandoned the gospel message. Humanistic philosophy instead has become the message of the church. Often the church seems like a boat which is hopelessly lost at sea, drifting without rudder in a great mass of apostasy. Instead of ministering to the spiritual needs of others, the church needs help. She is taking an active role in the revolts and protests of the day and getting her orders from men instead of from God. Some church publishing houses are publishing obscene publications. Men of the cloth are preaching and publishing sermons on subjects like "The Advantages of Adultery." Some pastors are relating to the world with long hair, beards, and some churches are now complete with psychedelic church music which is so close to "rock" it is difficult to tell the difference.

UNFRIENDLY LITERATURE

Secular magazines and the press today are printing articles which rebuke the church under such titles as "The Surprising Beliefs of our Future Ministers," or "An Obituary for God." The name of Louis Cassels is familiar to all of us. At the present time he is Senior Editor of the United Press International in Washington, D. C. I have read his comments on the church with great interest. Some of his criticisms have been worthwhile. Others have been slanted not only toward the far left in theology, but also in politics. The church could get along very well without "friends" like Mr. Cassels. Some magazines are focusing on those who are called "Christian Atheists," giving them credit for waking up the churches to the stark reality that the basic premise of Christianity --the existence of a personal God who created the world and sustains it with His love--is now subject to attack. This situation has gone so

far as to be absolutely absurd and ridiculous. Even some Protestant liberals are concerned about it. Dr. R. J. MacCracken of the Riverside Church in New York City not long ago stated, "Christianity no longer is at the hub of things, exerting any great influence on civilization. Ours is a civilization drifting away from Christianity." Yet this very same man is part of an apostate movement which is responsible in part for the spiritual lifelessness and powerlessness of Christianity in this day.

HERESY

Heresy is a word which we often avoid because of its very strong implications. We want to be tactful, kind and loving. Therefore, we find it untactful to use such a strong designation for untruth and unbelief. Bert E. McCormick, Minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Newcastle, Pennsylvania, wrote: "The creeds and doctrines of Christianity are based more on the thinking of Paul than on that of Jesus. And, although the Pope may claim infallibility, Paul did not. At times Paul sounds like a crusty old theologian straight from a monastery. However, although he experienced a fantastic conversion, although he was the 'brains' of the early church, and although he wrote in his epistles a colossal foundation for Christian believing, he remains subject to error. Therefore, as long as Christianity is defined primarily in terms of belief, the Christian, as a follower of Jesus Christ and not of Paul, has every right to question present day creeds and doctrines."

Jesus answered this clearly in John 16:13, "Nevertheless, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself, but whatever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come." In this statement, Jesus clearly referred to the New Testament revelation which was to come and which involved Paul's epistles as well as all of the other New Testament books. It was His Spirit, the Spirit of truth, who would provide this eternal revelation. What Paul wrote were the words and the thoughts of Jesus Christ. Therefore, Paul was not subject to error in revelation. As he wrote Scripture he was infallible in the record God wanted revealed.

In the same article, another quotation gives an indication of the direction in which many clergymen are headed today. "There is virtually no evidence that Jesus ever advocated formalized believing. Hence, this voice in the wilderness cries: 'For the Christian, heresy is not a legitimate word; there is no such creature as a 'right-thinking' one; the primary definition of Christianity should not be in terms of belief.

In answer, Christianity is a person, the Lord Jesus Christ. In John 20:31, we find with specific reference to John's Gospel, "But these

are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you might have life through his name." The whole burden of the Gospel of John is that men might be led to believe in Jesus Christ. This at once becomes the absolute and complete basis for any other movement of Christian doctrine. Frequently in the Gospel of John Jesus requested that the Pharisees and the people should believe in Him. "Believe" and "faith" are the two New Testament wonderful words of life and are translated from the same word in the Greek, pisteuō, which together with the prepositions, epi, en, and eis, make the whole process of believing an intensified and emphatic one. To believe and promote principle or doctrine which are not in line with the Word of God is heresy. Yes, this is a word which should be a part of the vocabulary of the Christian today as he points out departures from the faith.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LITERATURE

Vast portions of Sunday School and church literature are nothing more than contrived propaganda being used by liberal theologians and even by those who are associated with Communist fronts to lead our youth into subversive activities. It should not be necessary for Sunday School teachers to search their material for the gospel. Many devoted people who desire to give children and young people the Word of God have talked with me about this serious lack in their own denominations. Can we find Sunday School material which will bring to youth the message of truth? Thank God it is available, but this is not always known to teachers who desire to use it.

SEMINARIES

Many of the seminaries in our land today have become nothing more than intellectual and philosophic institutions. The student of theology who sits in seminary classes and daily listens to professors who degrade moral and spiritual standards and who try to recruit him for group social action, substituting modern psychological, philosophical and sociological theories for proven spiritual truths, gradually surrenders his individualism and becomes a collectivist. If he ever wakes up and finds what a trick Satan played on him, it may be years later as an ordained minister when he finds he must discover better answers to man's problems than he was taught in seminary. Then he may turn to the Bible. But even the teaching of the English Bible is a secondary consideration in many of these schools. The study of Hebrew and Greek with a desire to know the basic meanings of the words used in Bible manuscripts is almost a thing of the past. Seminary professors often are avowed unbelievers, and even worse, represent the Marxist philosophy. Departments of religion in state-operated and private schools and universities are largely devoid of true Bible teaching. Where does the

true church get its trained preachers?

YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES

Evangelical young people are also critical of the church. In a recent article by Dr. Richard McNeely on "The Church and Contemporary Society," he summarized some material from the October, 1969 issue of His magazine which contains criticisms of the churches evangelical young people have attended. For purposes of easier understanding, he has grouped these under three headings. I quote:

First, there were a number of things which related to the Mission of the Church: Lack of involvement, merely another social program, irrelevant, does not symbolize the priorities and values of Jesus Christ, questionable goals, does not want to accept the non-conformist or the one who is different, and it seemingly is more interested in the maintenance of the institution.

Second, those related to the Image of the Church: An artificiality in dealing with one another, a failure to receive one another without scruples about peripheral matters, a bureaucratic institution, too organized to allow the Spirit freedom, prayer is too general, a failure to deal with current problems, the offering of pat answers for the perplexing problems facing society, a mass of pew-sitters.

Then there are some feelings voiced against the Preaching of the Church: It is anti-intellectual (not aware of the current philosophies, art, music, drama, motion pictures, or literature), waters down hard truths to make them more acceptable and practical, is not scratching where the itch is, steers its subject matter to areas where people do not feel any need to change.

As many of us know the church today, it is immediately clear that some of these criticisms leveled by young people at the visible churches are valid. Some are not valid and not well taken. But we must not dismiss these criticisms as opinions of those who are immature. A careful consideration of what young people think of the church and its approach to the problems of society today will certainly be sobering and stimulating to all of us.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

Again, the ministry of today's church has become largely social rather than spiritual. Often the social gospel has taken the place of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. This social gospel is a general designation given to that school of thought which almost exclusively concerns material and temporal affairs. The basic theory is that in order to redeem man, the society in which he lives must first be changed to the point of redemption. In our area another name has been used for this operation, "the Kingdom of God." This seems to cover a vast amount of activity in the name of God and of the church. From the viewpoint of the world, much of this seems to be fine, humane and for the permanent improvement of society. No matter what you call it, this so-called gospel is not the gospel which Paul preached. Paul's gospel basically concerns man's personal, eternal relationship to God while the social gospel deals with the relationship of men to each other in a society. It is by accepting the Gospel of the New Testament that men are born again and brought into personal contact with God through Jesus Christ. The social gospel has as its aim the salvation of society in a sociological sense. There is no doubt that today the church is largely concerned with the social gospel. Dr. J. Lester McGee, Pastor of the Centenary United Methodist Church in St. Louis, Missouri, preached a sermon on the subject, "I Cry in Contrition for the Clergy." He said, and I quote:

Methodist ministers by the hundreds, many of them in high echelons and prestigious pulpits, began denying the value of the church's major mission across the years and throwing out the traditional Methodist evangelicalism. The pulpit moved far left of center. Draft evasion was excused. Demonstrations, sit-downs, sit-ins, police heckling, street brawling, and countless other dissident and disruptive practices were condoned, if not openly advocated.

We started equating the Christian mission with involvement in social issues under the devious delusion of reconciling the human race and rehabilitating society, with little or no concern for personal redemption and reconciliation with God in Christ.

So saving went out. Social activism came in. Liberals were riding high. I remember one of my superiors telling me the time had come to throw away all of my old sermons and get with it. If I didn't, I did not belong to the new Methodist Church. The heyday was here--a new church for a new world.

Dr. McGee describes the situation which exists in many churches today. Instead of preaching the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ with all of the clear, associated Biblical involvements, pastors are protesting with the crowd or involving themselves in some social enterprise which could not be justified in Scripture.

This adherence to the social gospel by so many ministers today has made them susceptible to both socialism and communism. They have moved into an area of human philosophy where the subtleties of communism are merged with what are supposed to be improvements in society. Liberal clergymen who are followers of these humanistic philosophies have opened the way for infiltration of communist agents into our seminaries and our church organizations. This is a clever and devilish trap.

One communist, in testifying to a House committee in Washington, D. C., said that their purpose was "to make the seminary the neck of a funnel through which thousands of potential clergymen would issue forth." It is understood that such clergymen would be completely indoctrinated in the communist ideology.

The social gospel approach puts the church in a position where it is primarily concerned with programming for the improvement of society. Its agencies are concerned mainly with sociology and civic organizations, etc. This programming has nothing directly to do with the preaching of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ.

A "CONVENIENT" FAITH

Again, many believers today are practicing what we might call a convenient faith in Jesus Christ. I am not popular when I call upon Christians to consider very carefully and analyze critically their personal faith in Jesus Christ in relation to their practical responsibilities to Him. It seems they would rather just belong to a church, practice minimal attendance and make an occasional gift to God's cause. They want a faith which does not interfere with their chosen way of life. I have heard it often, "Let's not get too involved." They will help plan the social events of the church while completely avoiding any participation in personal evangelism. Places of official responsibility in the church are avoided. Many believers today are this carnal. They are adapted to the movements and the satisfactions of the flesh rather than adapted to the movement and pleasure of the Holy Spirit of God. They act as if the Lord came to do their will and bow to their wishes. Paul Scherer reminds us that we cannot have the God we want, "A God who never moves the furniture around or upsets anything. He does not come with His feather duster to see that what we are already is in apple pie

order." How true! Our service for Christ will undoubtedly upset our plans. Such professing Christians make the church weak spiritually.

Within the so-called church today there are many splinter groups of varied types. We may take a large circle and call it the visible church and then look hard and critically at it. You have the two large groups of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Then there are many denominations, enough to fill a 300-page book. Among these theologically there are the liberals, the neo-orthodox, the new evangelicals, the evangelicals, the Pentecostals, fundamentalists, and so forth. Extending from resources in local churches are such organizations as Campus Crusade for Christ, Youth for Christ, the Child Evangelism Fellowship, Inter-Varsity Fellowship, and others, which are evangelizing the various segments of our society. In addition some kind of a so-called teenage religious revival is sweeping the country. All over America many youngsters have dropped out of all kinds of churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic. They are following underground, self-ordained religious leaders, studying Far Eastern philosophies, wearing all sorts of attire to brand themselves. They call themselves by many different names, "Jesus Fellows," "Jesus Freaks" (because they have "freaked-out" on Jesus), "the Love Cult," "Jesus Lovers," etc. One thing they have in common--Jesus is their hero! What does this mean? What do they mean when they say they have "taken Christ?" Your guess is as good as mine. One thing is certain. In the cases known to me and many friends, "taking Jesus" makes little difference in their lives. Often they study with the Bible in one hand and with LSD or a marijuana cigarette in the other hand. Their brand of Christianity does not lead them to soap and water, nor to secure a job and stop being leeches on society. In some cases, they live communally, men and women together, in the same house--under the umbrella of Christianity. I have no doubt the holy Christ does not approve of what goes on there. In their rebellion they have produced their own counter-culture and counter-religion. Just along the West Coast there are now more than 100 communes of those who say they believe the Bible. They call their meeting places "Jesus Houses," or "Christian Houses," "Port of Call," or "Tree of Life." Even though they are practically 100% long-haired and unsanitary, they reject the appellation, "hippie." Most of these are from middle or upper class families and have had some knowledge of the Bible previously.

It is significant that the "religion" adopted by many of these groups is directed toward passivity rather than toward activity. For this reason, they do not grow in grace and in the knowledge of Christ. They are too lazy and undisciplined. Therefore, by the personal testimony of their own leaders, many who have made professions soon move on and are not seen again. True Christianity is characterized by intense activity and edification. Christ said to Paul, "But rise, and stand upon thy feet;

for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose; to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in which I will appear unto thee" (Acts 26:16). Peter says about the Christian life, "And beside this, giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue," (II Peter 1:5). Speudō means "hasten," "get it done." Urgency and importance are expressed. Today we would say, "Get with it!" So the Jesus revolution does not exactly produce what Jesus desires. Yet all of these groups either profess to be churches or they are presuming to take the place God gave to the New Testament Church.

Almost without exception these groups have the Libertine attitude toward the Christian life. In early times the Libertines were those who became freed men from slavery. Then this word was used to describe Christians who had decided that since they were saved by grace this entitled them to the privilege of doing what they felt was right since God's grace would cover all. They present a vivid portrayal of modern antinomianism. They call me a legalist, which I am not. These people tell us they are "happy in Jesus" and yet they can drink, smoke, become dope addicts and carelessly throw the flesh around.

Among other things they have adapted Christian doctrines and principles to their own convenience. They select what appeals to them and ignore the rest. They forget that Bible principles are not subject to change. Some sections of Aldous Huxley's book, Ends and Means, are interesting. He underlines the fact that man's psychology shows clearly that one of his basic characteristics is to find reasons for what he wants to do or for not doing what he does not want to do. More and more professing Christians are like this today. They find reasons, often under grace they think, for making their own standards which do not interfere with their freedom. To them grace is license. Jude describes people who turn the grace of God into lasciviousness by practicing moral anarchy (Jude 4). A person who professes to be a Christian has adopted a set of Bible principles which constitute the blueprint by which he charts his course in this life. When he ignores this fact he displeases God and is not on a New Testament basis. Paul hit this attitude sharply in II Corinthians 6:17 where he writes, "Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." This is an imperative to each child of God no matter where he worships God or how. If he claims to be a Christian, he should be separated from the world system of sin and unrighteousness. It is not necessary at this point to define further what we mean by separation, except to say that the positive approach to this problem is found in Romans 12:1, where the same apostle pleads with believers that they present their bodies actively to the Lord to be used according to His will. Paul does

not condone the use of grace as it is being practiced today in some evangelical (so-called), religious groups. In Romans 6:1 and 2, he says, "Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid."

The Bible is still our standard for holiness and purity and clean living in this world.

It should be emphasized that there are a few organizations outside the local church which are doing about as well with this segment of our society as possible. The so-called "Light and Power Company," co-founded by Hal Lindsey, reaches youth on campuses especially. An effort is made to edify those who are saved. In San Fernando "Action Life" is at work. Young people are won to Christ and then sent out to witness. We are told by these groups and some others that they are not anti-church. But they say, "The movement today is outside the church building on the streets, beaches and highways." Mr. Lindsey says, "Young people like informality; we're trying to get back to a church that is based on first century principles." I wonder what he means by this. I think my church is based on first century principles. Is this an indirect way of slapping the church which is doing a job for God based on the New Testament? When these leaders start talking about the church they should make their meaning crystal clear. If the church had to depend on such groups to evangelize the world, even though they point to some kids going to Denmark and sharing the gospel with 10,000 people in two weeks, the job would never get done. The fact is that many of these kids, even after they are saved, make themselves so undesirable to the culture they have left and to which they themselves often do not return, that their testimony to the rank and file is nullified. Compare their missionary efforts with what the New Testament organized church has done through the centuries.

However, it becomes very clear that local churches which are endeavoring to pattern themselves according to the New Testament revelation are being seriously misrepresented by this section of the visible church.

DECREASING PERSONAL EVANGELISM

Again, there is a serious and tragically decreasing emphasis on personal evangelism. It would be logical that churches which preach and practice a social gospel would not do personal witnessing for Christ. After all, what do they have to witness about? About all they can do is encourage people to join their protest marches. But even in churches where the Word of God is taught and preached faithfully by a godly under-shepherd, systematic planning in soul-winning is often a thing of the past. One pastor said to me sometime ago, and I quote him, "You

will never catch me out in the community visiting house to house." His was a small church and destined to stay that way. The words of our Lord Jesus in Acts 1:8 make this matter abundantly clear: "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Spirit is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. It is safe to say that in this day no church can possibly grow on the right Biblical basis without a witnessing ministry. Also it is true that no church can possibly be a spiritual church without such a ministry.

Indeed, the critics of the church, those who understand it and who see and comprehend its attitudes and responses, have some strong, basic, justified criticisms.

It is clear that this could go on and on. Yes, the church needs constructive criticism. It needs to face certain issues in its attitudes and ministry and to analyze these things in the light of the Word of God. There is no doubt that in its present spiritual state, the church at large will be ineffective in the evangelization of the world.

(TO BE CONCLUDED)

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURES

By Charles Augustus Briggs. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, reprint 1970, \$8.95, 688 pp.

Baker Book House has reprinted General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture as a volume in its Limited Editions Library. This book was written before the turn of the century by the great liberal scholar Charles Augustus Briggs who is still known by seminary students for his contributions to the Hebrew lexicon commonly referred to as BDB. Briggs was tried and acquitted of heresy by the Presbytery of New York and later became a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He taught for many years at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

This book represents the old liberal rationalism which preceded the theological mysticism of neo-orthodoxy. As such it is a classic of that tradition of scholarship. Briggs accepted the Higher Critical evaluation of the Scriptures and was repulsed by the doctrine of the inerrancy of the Bible. He believed in the authority of an errant Bible. Higher Criticism was the means by which one could understand the Scriptures and make it intellectually acceptable. Briggs had a strong attachment to the Church and wanted to reform it in connection with what he considered to be the facts as uncovered by the thinkers of his day. There is no question of his deep sincerity and equally profound hurt at being rejected by those who disagreed with him.

The reviewer would recommend this book to evangelical students, not only as an exercise in recent past history of Christian scholarship, but as a revealing look into the heart of a man. This volume as an introduction to the Bible is far out of date. The Higher Criticism that Briggs defended is largely repudiated by the brute facts of recent discovery. However, many of the questions with which he struggled are still dogging those who have difficulty with the Scripture. Perhaps reading Briggs' book will help the student to see the error of newer systems of interpretation while at the same time coming to grips with the Christian's responsibility to love those whose views are unacceptable.

Dwight E. Acomb

Fresno, California

WHAT ABOUT HOROSCOPES?

By Joseph Bayly. David C. Cook Publishing Company, Elgin, Illinois, 1970. 95¢ paper, 95 pp.

This latest work by a thought-provoking author is timely, courageous and honest.

Its timeliness is explained by the fact that many in the western world seem entranced with astrology. The proportions are astonishing with 1,200 newspapers featuring regular columns on astrology and many people in the local churches reading them regularly with varying degrees of credence. The treatise is courageous in that it unflinchingly discusses many unanswerable areas of spiritism. The author is honest, admitting that there are multitudes of phenomena for which there is no logical explanation.

The title of the book is too narrow as it also treats extra-sensory perception, communication with the dead and other areas.

There is a good mixture of historical facts, personal experience, current observations and Biblical instruction. The reader will find particularly interesting Mr. Bayly's conversation with James Pike and later comments on the bishop's supposed communication with his deceased son. Yet, one is puzzled with the author's concluding comment, ". . . but a lot of it seems to have come, at the very least, from beyond the mediums" (p. 73).

The rising tide of witchcraft in the world presents a need for concern in addition to the cults involving Satan worship. The author's remarks as to the possibilities of demon possession are sobering and worthwhile. He seems to diagnose these growing cancers properly with the following statement, ". . . may be an open invitation to Satan and his demons to come out into the open in our society, to fill the vacuum of spirit that exists" (p. 45).

Indeed, there is reason for distress when the school systems which amputated the Bible from the classroom now add an elective in palmistry.

For the Christian looking for a book dealing with the present crisis in spiritism here is one which he can read and recommend. Even in the statements where you may disagree, at least you will be stimulated. The style of writing is easy and intriguing much like the author's most recent work VIEW FROM A HEARSE. Though it can be consumed in one evening, its contents will remain for time to come.

William L. Coleman

Sterling, Kansas

THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES By Carl A. Volz, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 1970. 198 pp.

All readers and students of Church History will be grateful to Dr. Carl Volz, professor of church history at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, for this helpful little volume on *THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES*. The chronological boundaries of the work are defined in the sub-title: Growth and Change from 600 to 1400. But this is not a mere recitation of chronological events through these eight centuries. While giving the sweep and movement of events, the author adopts the topical method of analyzing the period. This he does with skill and effectiveness.

The author feels that most impressions of this period are based upon a "kind of mythical medieval church which actually never existed." It is his purpose "to present the church as it developed, with the hope that the reader will be able to assess its true nature with sympathetic understanding." In the opinion of the reviewer he accomplishes his purpose well in a book of small size.

Careful discrimination is exercised in the selection of material. There are many concise and helpful definitions of institutions of the period such as feudalism, scholasticism, monasticism, and various doctrines of the church. Selections from primary sources are sprinkled throughout the book. An appendix contains other well-chosen selections. Among these the reader will appreciate the definitions of the seven sacraments of the church as given by Pope Eugenius IV (1439).

While many books on history are informative, not all are interesting. This fine volume is interesting, enjoyable reading. It should prove to be of real value to pastor, teacher, and laymen. Dr. Volz' work is the second of a series of three volumes on *THE CHURCH IN HISTORY* published by Concordia. This reviewer is looking forward to reading the other two.

Ivan H. French

Grace Theological Seminary

SATURATION EVANGELISM By George W. Peters. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1970. 237 pp., paperback, \$3.45.

"The supreme mission of the Church is missions" . . . "world evangelism is not an elective in Christianity" . . . and "evangelism originated in the heart of God" are phrases used by the author which succinctly unveil his burden and purpose in making this work available to the church of the 70's. It is another in a growing list of books on soul-winning and world-wide evangelism with the reaching of the world in our generation as the key vision.

After an initial and appropriate presentation of definitions in Part One, Dr. Peters enters into a discussion of evangelism according to the Bible. Part Two consists of a thorough analysis of the two parent movements of saturation evangelism, namely, "Evangelism-in-Depth" and "New Life for All." In Part Three, household evangelism and group movements are examined in the light of Scripture and cultural relationships. Dr. Peters has assembled sufficient facts by on-the-field observation to produce a work of major importance about a basic in-depth evangelistic method in use for the past ten years.

The author is very fair in his presentation and evaluation of the statistics concerning saturation evangelism; he points out its strengths and weaknesses as well as making recommendations for its future application. Clear thinking, extended vision and warm devotion on the part of the writer unite to give this volume great significance for our times.

Much of our American "Churchianity" is actually aimed at only maintaining the "status quo." The evangelistic action described in this publication could produce the spiritual revolution so many crave.

P. Fredrick Fogle

Grace Theological Seminary

LECTURES ON PREACHING By Philips Brooks. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1969. 281 pp. \$2.95, paper.

Preachers are interested in books on preaching. Baker Book House has done them a splendid service with the new series on Notable Books on Preaching. One book in this series is a re-print of Philips Brooks' 1877 Yale Lectures on Preaching. Even though the original work was published over 90 years ago, the timeliness of the practical aspects of this book are rich indeed. Many of the essential factors that go together to make a preacher what he ought to be for God are discussed. This writer felt that Brooks "warmed" to his subject as the lectures progressed. This, however, is not unusual for a preacher!

The work of the Christian ministry is set forth on the high plane it rightfully deserves. The chapters deal with the preacher himself, his people, his message, his place in history. It is interesting to note that even in Philips Brooks' time, men were saying that the day of preaching was past.

Men called of God to preach will find that this book stirs the soul. Hopefully, it will make the reader desire to be a better Biblical preacher.

Robert K. Spradling

Bible Center Church
Charleston, West Virginia

EVOLUTION ON TRIAL by Cora A. Reno. Moody Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1970. 192 pp., \$3.95.

Many young people are faced with the theory of evolution in their high school days without adequate resource for understanding the factors involved. The proper literature has not been available to meet their needs. It is for those in this age group, their parents, and others interested in helping to clarify a Christian approach to evolution for the high schooler that Cora Reno has written Evolution on Trial.

Cora Reno has spent over twenty years in the field of education including three years at the elementary level, nine years in high school, and seven years in Christian colleges (Westmont and Biola Colleges) where she taught zoology. She holds a B.S. degree in zoology from Wheaton College, and M.A. in the same discipline from the University of Michigan, and currently is completing a Ph.D. at the University of California at Berkeley.

"The author is a creationist who accepts the Bible as the Word of God and believes that He is the source of all things" (p.5). However, she accepts uniformitarian approach to the question of the age of the earth, which she says is four or five billion years old, and geology and paleontology as they are applied to Genesis chapters 1 and 2. She believes that the "days" of Genesis are ages throughout which God distributed creative acts.

The book is divided into nineteen chapters dealing with fossils, geology and paleontology, genetics, classification of species, embryology, mutations, time of creation, origin of life, similarity and relationship, and other topics. In chapter nineteen she attempts to move the reader into making a positive response to Christ. Here she emphasizes the unique character and truthfulness of the Bible which presents both Christ and creation. Most chapters are subdivided into a statement of evolutionary interpretation followed by a creationist interpretation. At the back of her book she includes a helpful chart which shows the pertinent pages in current high school biology textbooks where the theory of evolution is discussed as related to certain supposed evidences. This is followed by an annotated bibliography of more than thirty-five books related to the topic of evolution. Here she should have included A.E. Wilder-Smith's Man's Origin, Man's Destiny in the reviewer's opinion.

Cora Reno's presentation is strongest in her chapters on similarity and relationship, embryology, genetics, origin of life, and change and design. Her weakest chapters deal with the time of creation and geology and paleontology. In the former she does not adequately present the views of those with whom she differs, especially in regard to the canopy

and flood geology theories. In the latter she overstates the validity of radioactive dating methods while ignoring the basic assumptions necessary for acceptance of such procedures. She mentions on page 39 that "radioactive methods are not influenced by ordinary environmental changes of heat, magnetic and electrical fields, vacuum or 'light'" but does not reveal the fact that water seems to have a definite influence.

While noting that the fossils of the geological column were formed under water and are found in sedimentary rock, she declares that the Bible gives little or no information about many subjects in science, neglecting to note the world-wide flood of catastrophic proportions in the time of Noah which might very well solve several of her problems. When she annotated The Genesis Flood in her bibliography she stated that she disagreed with much of the material opposing uniformitarian geology. However, she should not have left out the flood of Noah as possibly playing some role in the formation of the present state of the earth's surface. She implies that fear motivates some Christians so that they will not accept an ancient date for the creation of the earth and data related to paleontology. She apparently discounts reports of fossilized humanoid footprints in the same rock level as those of dinosaurs and other such data which might make one re-evaluate the possibilities in connection with the geological record. She also makes no mention of the problem of overshifts.

Miss Reno appeals to Christians for understanding in regard to other Christians' views of origins. The reviewer agrees. She emphasizes that all views involve the interpretation of facts and are in reality only theories. She encourages her readers to be cautious not to accept every theory that comes along because many are not Biblical. She notes that many subjects are not closed and challenges her readers to further study in several areas where the theories have not answered all the questions.

The reviewer appreciated much of the author's presentation. He feels, however, that in the areas of geology and paleontology, and therefore her discussion of the age of the earth and certain fossil remains, she does not show the same openness to possibility that she reflects elsewhere. She seems not to allow for any significant alternatives to an uniformitarian approach to the data. An acceptance of a sediment deposit rate in the formation of sedimentary rock is probably as invalid as the old archaeological method of dating phases of tells by establishing a deposit rate and then measuring from the top of the tell to determine the age of the phase. It was not adequate in archaeology because most of the real factors of tell building were not taken into account. Uniformity here is largely a matter of faith and not fact alone.

The reviewer thinks that Evolution on Trial is a brave attempt to get accurate information on origins to those who are being confronted with the theory of evolution in high school. He recommends the book with the above reservations.

Dwight E. Acomb

Fresno, California

AN EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY OF MISSIONS By Harold Lindsell. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1970. 234 pp., paperback, \$2.45.

This volume is the revision of a previous work, copyrighted in 1949, entitled A. Christian Philosophy of Missions. An attractive up-to-date binding enrobes the contents.

Chapter I, "The World in Which We Live" was partially rewritten to include recent facts and figures bearing on the subject, but it appears that the same plates were used for all the succeeding chapters.

The reader who is familiar with the 1949 edition, is left to determine for himself the reason for changing the word "Christian" to "Evangelical" and "Philosophy" to "Theology." It is not self-evident and the author has made no attempt to explain or refer to the previous publication.

In the light of the title, the need for the production of a true theology of missions, and the qualifications of Dr. Lindsell to expound on the subject, I was quite disappointed that the book is principally a reprint.

A theology of missions should be the result of dealing extensively with specific portions of the Holy Scriptures through a process of careful exegesis, analysis and formation of doctrines. Much Biblical truth is contained in Dr. Lindsell's work, in chapters such as "A Final Foundation--the Word of God" and "A Final Theology--The Gospel", but specific references from the Bible are rare.

Among those who do not possess the original publication, this book deserves wide diffusion and the truths therein should be taken seriously by all evangelical Christians.

P. Fredrick Fogle

Grace Theological Seminary

HAPPY MOMENTS WITH GOD By Margaret J. Anderson. Bethany Fellowship, Inc., Publishers, Minneapolis, Minn., 1962. \$1.95, 189 pp.

Mrs. Margaret Anderson, a mother and a grandmother, knows how to write for children! Her 100 devotions are short, simple and

spiritual. She not only writes in a life-like manner, she uses several stories based upon personal experiences.

The arrangement is the same for each devotion: Story, application, Bible verse and prayer. The stories are interesting and cover a wide range of subjects (e.g., conduct, service, missions, existence of God, salvation, sin repetition). The application is handled in various ways such as questions, exhortation or spiritual climax. The Bible verses are paraphrased and accurate as a rule. Most of the prayers are addressed to the Father, but the ones addressed to the Lord Jesus are meaningful to children.

Mrs. Anderson's illustrated pictures are large, bold and attractive. Her devotional titles are interesting and unforced. A Scripture index is included at the end of the book. Not all readers will agree with Mrs. Anderson's view that the indwelling of Christ is our love for Christ (p. 14) or that "no one is too young to give Jesus his heart" (p. 15).

The reviewer read these devotions to his two daughters, ages three and eight. Both girls immensely enjoyed the stories and the eight year old girl quickly grasped the meaning and application. This book is recommended for devotional reading to smaller children.

James H. Gabhart

First Baptist Church
Chesterton, Indiana

SELECTED SHORTER WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, VOL. 1

By John E. Meeter, ed. Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Nutley, New Jersey, 1970. 494 pp. \$7.50. No index.

Dr. Meeter merits our sincere thanks for preparing the present volume. It is an anthology of short articles written by Warfield on an immense variety of subjects ranging from, "The Significance of the Confessional Doctrine of the Decree" to "Our Seminary Curriculum," and from "The Old Testament and Immortality" to "Dr. Charles Hodge as a Teacher of Exegesis." The articles are compiled into six sections dealing primarily with Bibliology and Religion, Theology proper, Christology, Soteriology, and a potpourri section, and a section of biographical articles.

Because of its great diversity of material this book offers a unique and fascinating biographical insight into the life of Dr. Warfield. It shows him as a prodigious scholar capable of writing on many subjects well. A master logician, he displays the fine arts of his trade especially in the two articles on the resurrection. Methodically the possible

alternatives are exposed and destroyed until one is left beside the empty tomb breathless at its historicity and glory. Warfield's profound Calvinism is shown in "What is Calvinism?" His conclusion in short is, "Calvinism is just religion in its purity." Amazing! The devotional spirit in Warfield, largely overlooked, blossoms in "The Religious Life of Seminary Students." Every seminarian should make this article his own--it is soul stirring! Doctrinal bias creeps to the fore in such articles as "Christian Baptism" and "The Gospel and the Second Coming." The former is a defence of pedobaptism and the latter of A-millennialism. Warfield proves himself an erudite and capable exegete in "Christ's Little Ones." Whether or not one agrees with his conclusions, his methodology is superb.

Perhaps the forthcoming volume will rectify the fact that no index is included. Apart from that technical criticism, however, the book commands highest praise and its contents will be its own commendation.

Jeff Imbach

Winona Lake, Indiana

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

By T. R. Henn. Oxford University Press, New York, 1970. 270 pp. \$7.00, cloth.

Professor Henn of Cambridge University has written a suggestive, rather erudite essay on a subject which continues to pick up momentum in literary and educational circles. Following such prominent figures as Sir James Frazer, Carl Jung, Maud Bodkin, and Northrop Frye, he seeks, in effect, to "re-mythologize" the Bible by applying archetypal, or myth criticism to the Scriptures. "So far from attempting to demythologize, we may be grateful for the massive and continuous enrichment by the mythologems [a term he uses to avoid the pejorative associations of "myth"] of the human imagination" (p. 257). Thus he sees the Bible as a series of variegated patterns: "In succession we have the archetypal patterns of myth; the dangerous journey, the ordeal, conquest and defence, subjection and captivity" (p. 31). The various images of the Bible, according to Henn, have become invested with the values of symbol in the instance of such simple archetypes as tree, river, fire clay, wine, thorns, honey, serpent, Leviathan, and garden. "These are often linked to basic, recurrent, and apparently universal symbols. which suggest conscious or subliminal meanings in many literatures" (p.63). To explore such associations with the tools of literary criticism is the over-arching purpose of the book.

In conformity with his apparent conviction (along with Frye) that literature is an autonomous verbal universe that generates its own correspondingly autonomous criticism, the author adopts his stance at the outset: "It would, I think, have been impossible to retain any critical

integrity if one were to accept the position of complete verbal inspiration" (p. 19). As far as Henn is concerned, when read as the unique tribal record of the protoplasmic pattern of the collective imagistic unconsciousness of the race, we note the Bible's oneness with other creative literature and "achieve a kind of liberation from the need to consider it as fact, or history, or as inerrant authority We are free to jettison parts of it, as we do of Milton or of Wordsworth" (p. 258). The author recognizes, however, that "this . . . is in no sense a substitute for the Christian view It cannot, I think, lead us to the Christian apprehension. For this we need a different, higher type of insight" (p. 259).

The first five chapters present an overview of Professor Henn's general literary approach to the Bible. After his definitive "Introduction" (here he stipulates that in the creative encounter where subjective human need and objective traditional images meet in mythologems and archetypes there is the co-operation of the divine influence, the Grace of God), several chapters are devoted to a broad, but personal treatment of the familiar literary conventions: themes, language, style, and imagery. More specific analysis is then provided for a wide sampling of materials in the Bible: ballad and songs; the persuasive techniques of Christ, Paul the Apostle, and Isaiah; the Psalms; Job; Proverbs; prophecy; and character and action. Chapter Fourteen, "Imitation," is of interest for its survey of the "many ways in which English writers have made use of the Bible, directly or obliquely" (p. 230). The concluding chapter summarizes the several values of the Bible (religious, ethical, historical, personal), again with emphasis on the cleavage between a spiritual and the literary study of the Bible. Such a dichotomy, in the judgment of this reviewer, need not exist.

Complete with bibliography, list of versions, and index, the book will offer provocative reading and discussion for advanced students of literature and theology. The bibliographical entry for Maud Bodkin's first listed work on Page 21 should read Archetypal Patterns in Poetry, not Pottery.

E. J. Lovelady

Grace College

THE ZONDERVAN EXPANDED CONCORDANCE

Zondervan Publish-

ing House, Grand Rapids, 1968. \$14.95, 1848 pp.

No other printed work fills the exact purpose of this concordance. The "expanded" concordance covers the key words from six modern Bible translations and the King James Version (KJV) including words from The New Scofield Reference Bible. Versions, much proliferated in our times, are here to stay, and this multi-version reference

will be helpful in its purpose.

Zondervan published the concordance with tri-columns per page, nearly 1850 pages in all. Cross-reference is fast and easy for more than 250,000 entries. The subject word is in bold-faced type and generously spaced. Each reference is identified by the Bible book as well as the chapter and verse. Key words are italicized. An interesting feature is to list certain modifiers with key words, e.g. one, one of them, one thing, as one, wicked one, etc. References from the versions except the KJV are indicated by abbreviations found in the Preface. The six familiar versions chosen for this expanded work are the Amplified Bible, the Berkeley Version, the American Standard Version, the New English Bible, Phillips, the Revised Standard Version and the New Scofield Bible.

The publisher makes no attempt to identify words as to a Greek, Hebrew or Aramaic root. There is no attempt to separate Old Testament words from New Testament words or to give a meaning with synonyms for the words. The reader may gain possible variations of meaning from the versions.

Some readers may question the value of listing such references as "then" (pp. 1427-1441) and "without" (pp. 1778-1781). However, these references do have some possibilities for sermon outlines. The primary benefit of this concordance is to enable the reader to locate quickly a specific word in these familiar versions.

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